ISRAEL'S DEBT TO EGYPT

EDWARD H. SUGDEN, M.A., B.Sc., Litt.D.

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By EDWARD H. SUGDEN,
M.A., B.Sc., Litt.D.
Master of Queen's College, University of Melbourne

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DEDICATED
TO THE MEMORY OF
MY BELOVED FRIEND
JOHN BENJAMIN HELLIER, M.D.

And the children of Israel did according to the word of Moses; and they asked of the Egyptians jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and raiment; and Jehovah gave the people favour in the sight of the Egyptians, so that they let them have what they asked. And they spoiled the Egyptians.—Exod. xii. 35, 36.

When Israel was a child, then I loved him, and called My son out of Egypt.—Hosea xi. 1.

In that day shall Israel be the third with Egypt and with Assyria, a blessing in the midst of the earth; for that Jehovah Sabaoth hath blessed them, saying, Blessed be Egypt My people, and Assyria the work of My hands, and Israel Mine inheritance.—Isa. xix. 24, 25.

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PREFACE

It is bringing coals to Newcastle with a vengeance to deliver a lecture on this subject in Liverpool, whose school of Egyptology, under the direction of Professor T. Eric Peet, has won a world-wide fame. To his book on *Egypt and the Old Testament* and to the articles by himself and Mr. A. B. Mace in the *Annals of Archaeology*, published by the University of Liverpool, I am deeply indebted for many suggestions and much valuable information. I have not thought it necessary to load my pages with detailed references to the various authorities I have consulted, but the appended bibliography indicates sufficiently the extent of my obligations, and may serve as a guide to those who wish to pursue the subject further. Most of the books mentioned can be procured in English.

I gratefully acknowledge the help I have received from the officials of the Melbourne Public Library, and especially from one of my old students, Mr. Colin McCallum, in hunting up books and references. I am also indebted to another of my students, Mr. A. J. Ralton, for the illustrations of Solomon's Temple and of Egyptian musical instruments.

Prefatory Note on the Spelling of Egyptian Names

It is devoutly to be wished that the Egyptologists of the world could agree upon some common system for the transliteration of Egyptian names. As an example of the present confusion in this matter we may take the name of the first Pharaoh occurring in this lecture—Usertesen. He is variously called Sesonchosis (*Manetho*), Sesostris (*Breasted*), Senusert (*Budge*), Usirtasen (*Maspero*), Usertsen (*Erman* and, as an alternative, *Budge*), and Usertesen (*Petrie*). Similarly, Tahutmes has the forms Thutmose, Thothmes, and Tahutmes. I have thought it best to adopt in all cases the spelling used by our greatest English Egyptologist, Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie.

In the case of Hebrew names I have followed the spelling of the English Revised Version, for obvious reasons. The name of the God of the Hebrews I have given as Jehovah rather than Jahve or Jahveh, or Yahve or Yahveh. I am well aware that the vowels of Jehovah are really those of the *Qeri Perpetuum*, Adonai; but even the other forms are not certainly right; in any case, literary and devotional usage has established Jehovah as the English spelling; and I would as soon write Kikero for Cicero, or Skipio for Scipio, or Yaysoos for Jesus, as Jahve for Jehovah.

> Jehovah, great I am,
> By earth and heaven confessed!
> I bow and bless the sacred name
> For ever blessed!

INTRODUCTION

We know that God hath spoken unto Moses.—JOHN ix. 29.

I PREFIX this text to my lecture for two reasons :

I. Because it expresses my own convinced belief, and that of the whole Methodist Church, that, amid the thunders of Sinai, God declared to Moses those principles and laws upon which Judaism was founded ; and that, like Paul's gospel, they were not received from man, nor was he taught them, but they came to him through revelation. But it should always be remembered that all revelations of God must be conveyed in the language and idiom of the man who receives such revelations, and must be transmitted by him in such a way that they may be intelligible to those whom he addresses. Even the eternal Word, who was with God and was God, was made flesh ; and in His teaching as in His Person, there is a human as well as a divine element ; Jesus had to speak to His hearers in terms of their own intellectual and religious ideas, and not in the language of the twentieth century ; and this is even more true of Moses. If, therefore, we want to understand his teaching, we must find out what the words in which it was conveyed meant to the Hebrews to whom he spoke ; and the meaning of words is not to be ascertained from a dictionary, but from the careful study of the mental development and historical conditions of those who use them. Now the children of Israel spent the first four centuries of their

history in close contact with the religion and civilization of Egypt during the period of its most splendid development, and it is impossible that their conceptions of religion and of life generally should not have been largely determined by those of the people amongst whom they lived. Moses himself was 'instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians' (Acts vii. 22), and brought up at the Court of Pharaoh. Whatever traditions may have filtered through from Abraham, the mind of Moses was formed mainly under Egyptian influences; and we must understand what these were if we are to gain any probable idea of his mental outlook. The following study is an attempt to determine what those influences were, and how they affected the form of the revelation he received and transmitted to the newly born Hebrew nation. But it must always be remembered that the *form* of the revelation does not affect the *fact*; God veritably spoke to Moses, although He necessarily spoke in an Egyptian idiom; and nothing in what has to be said as to the influence of Egyptian ideas and practices on the religion of Israel must be interpreted as casting any doubt on the divine origin of the Law that was given by Moses; indeed, we shall find that many of the precepts of that Law are in flat and deliberate contradiction to the beliefs and practices of the Egyptian religion.

II. But I prefix this text also as a warning against the danger of regarding the revelation given to Moses as the final and complete declaration of God's will. The Pharisees believed that God spake unto Moses; but their worship of the letter of the Law led to their

rejection of Christ; 'as for this fellow, we know not from whence He is.' They so extravagantly honoured him who was 'faithful in all God's house as a servant' that they failed to recognize Him who was 'a Son over His house' (Heb. iii. 5), and finally cast Him out and slew Him. This attitude was not confined to the Pharisees; a considerable section of the early Christian Church demanded circumcision and the observance of the Mosaic Law as to clean and unclean meats as necessary conditions of membership therein; and it was only the resolute opposition of Paul that saved the Church from being entangled in the yoke of Jewish bondage. He saw clearly that these Christian Judaizers rejected Christ just as much as the Pharisees themselves: 'Behold, I, Paul, say unto you that, if ye receive circumcision, Christ will profit you nothing. Ye are severed from Christ, ye who would be justified by the Law.' This is not merely a matter of ancient history; the same tendency still shows itself. Whilst the teaching of evolution is prohibited in certain American States, because it conflicts with the opinion of the majority as to the interpretation of the first chapter of Genesis; whilst the almost unanimous judgement of scholars as to the composite character of the Pentateuch is passionately denounced, and attempts are being made to exclude those who hold such views from Christian pulpits; whilst a fairly numerous denomination of Christians makes the observance of the seventh day of the week as the day of rest one of their fundamental tenets—it is sadly plain that there is still a danger of exalting the letter of the Mosaic Law above

the spirit of the teaching of Jesus. 'Unto this day, whensoever Moses is read, a veil lieth upon their heart' (2 Cor. iii. 15). It is for us to pray that the veil may be taken away, and to see that we ourselves stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free; for where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty.

PART I

THE HISTORICAL CONTACTS BETWEEN EGYPT AND ISRAEL

I

ABRAM IN EGYPT

ACCORDING to Hebrew tradition, the great forefather of their race, soon after his migration from Haran, visited Egypt, in consequence of a sore famine in Palestine (Gen. xii. 10). Fearing that the beauty of Sarai, his wife, might attract Pharaoh, and that he might be put to death to get him out of the way, he persuaded her to say that she was his sister. She was taken into the royal harem, but Jehovah rescued her by sending 'great plagues' upon Pharaoh and his house; and Abram was politely but firmly escorted out of the country. This story is due to the document known as J, in which, later (Gen. xxvi. 6), a similar story is told of Isaac and Rebekah, when, again in consequence of a famine, they visited the Court of Abimelech, King of Gerar. In the document known as E, however, nothing is said of Abram's visit to Egypt, but J's story of Isaac and Abimelech is transferred to Abraham (Gen. xx. 1). There are several indications that these stories, in their present form, are of a much later date than the times of the Patriarchs. Thus in Gen. xii. 16, Abram is said to have received 'camels' from Pharaoh; but camels are not found on the monuments in Egypt till the third century B.C. The King of Egypt is called Pharaoh (i.e. Per-o, 'great house'); but this title is not found in the monuments as a personal name of the king until much later times.

J calls Abimelech 'King of the Philistines,' and refers to his people under the same name (Gen. xxvi. 1, 14), whereas the Philistines only came to south-western Palestine in the reign of Rameses III (*circ.* 1200 B.C.). E styles Abraham 'a prophet,' i.e. *nabhi* (Gen. xx. 7), which, as we learn from 1 Sam. ix. 9, was a comparatively modern substitute for the older title, 'seer.' A double account is given of the origin of the name Beersheba, E connecting it with Abraham (Gen. xxi. 31) and J with Isaac (Gen. xxvi. 33). It is, again, hardly likely that both the King of Gerar and his chief captain, Phicol, should have had the same names at the time of Abraham's visit and more than sixty years later, when Isaac was there. It is pretty clear that we have the same tradition in three variant forms, though which was the original it is impossible to say. I am inclined to give the Isaac-Abimelech variant the preference, and to suppose that it was transferred to the greater figure of Abraham and the more splendid monarch, Pharaoh, by a not unnatural tendency. If this be so, it relieves us from the necessity of attributing to the father of the faithful a timorous distrust and dishonest prevarication which are certainly more in accord with what we know of the character of Isaac. But the association of the story with Abraham and Pharaoh indicates that there was a tradition of his having visited Egypt; and that this was so is rendered probable by the following considerations. His visit probably took place during the time of the Twelfth Dynasty; for, as Gen. xiv. proves, Abraham was contemporary with Amraphel, or Hammurabi, King

of Shinar or Sumer ; and the most recent investigations date his reign 2067–24 B.C.,[1] or even a hundred years later. The Twelfth Dynasty ruled at Memphis in 2000–1788 B.C., and there is abundant evidence that there was frequent intercourse between Syria and Egypt during this period. Specially interesting is the picture in the tomb of Khnum-hotep at Beni-hassan, in which the chieftain Absha is represented, along with thirty-seven of his tribe of Amu, or Syrians, bringing gifts to Khnum-hotep, one of the chief officials of Usertesen II. The date of the visit is given as ' the sixth year of Usertesen II,' i.e. 1900 B.C. ; and the gifts include stibium, or paint for the eyelids, a handsome ibex, a gazelle, and a large block of what seems to be tin ; the chief is introduced by two scribes, and is followed by his attendants and family. Whilst there is no ground for supposing that the picture represents Abraham's visit, it affords a striking and confirmatory parallel to the Bible story. Such visits as this were the first ripples of the rising tide which was destined before long to submerge the ancient monarchy of Egypt under the flood of the Semitic migrations, when the Hyksos, or shepherd, kings, established their rule in the Delta, and held the supreme power in Egypt for over a couple of centuries. It is worth remembering that, when Abraham came down to Egypt, the Pyramids were over a thousand years old, and that at this very time Usertesen I was setting up the great obelisk which still stands near Heliopolis. Abraham is no shadowy figure,

[1] Professor Peet dates his accession 2123 B.C., and would fix Abram's visit shortly before the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty.

moving vaguely on the outskirts of history; he stands a living man, as substantial as the great monarch in whose Court for a time he took refuge from the famine.

This Egyptian visit is, therefore, antecedently probable; and that it actually occurred is shown by two interesting facts. First, Sarai's handmaid, Hagar, was an Egyptian, doubtless acquired by her at this time (Gen. xvi. 1); and she naturally fled in the direction of her native land when she was expelled by her mistress (Gen. xxi. 14), and found an Egyptian wife for her son Ishmael (Gen. xxi. 21). Further, there can be little doubt that Abraham derived the practice of circumcision from Egypt.[1] Circumcision had been practised there for more than two thousand years, though it was not the custom in Babylonia, whence the patriarch had come. It is noteworthy that Ishmael, the son of the Egyptian handmaid, was circumcised some time before Isaac was born (Gen. xvii. 23); and by divine prompting Abraham adopted this Egyptian rite for himself and his whole clan as the sign of the covenant between God and his seed (Gen. xvii. 12). There is much difference of opinion as to the original significance of the rite; but the view advocated by Foucart in *Ency. Rel. and Ethics*, s.v., is that it 'was a sign of affiliation to the cult of Ra or of more ancient celestial gods.' It was just as such a sign of his covenant relation with God that Abraham adopted it, after having seen it in use in Memphis to indicate the consecration of the priests of Ra to his service. This characteristic ceremony of the Hebrew people is thus a direct debt to Egypt.

[1] See below, Part II., chap. ii.

II

JOSEPH IN EGYPT

THERE is no indication of Isaac having had any contact with Egypt ; indeed, he is expressly forbidden to go there (Gen. xxvi. 2). But the two sources (E and J) which are interwoven in the story of Joseph agree that he was taken down to Egypt and there sold as a slave to an official of the Court, whether, as E says, he was kidnapped by the Midianites without the knowledge of his brothers, or, as J suggests, was sold by them to a caravan of Ishmaelites for twenty pieces of silver (Gen. xxxvii. 36, xxxix. 1). Now Isaac was born when Abraham was one hundred years old, i.e. about twenty years after Abraham's visit to Egypt ; Isaac was sixty when Jacob was born ; and Jacob was one hundred and thirty when he came to Egypt, fifteen years after Joseph had been brought there (Gen. xxi. 5, xxv. 26, xxxvii. 2, xli. 46, xlv. 6, xlvii. 9). These figures, though they only depend upon tradition, and may not be exact, give us, roughly, 200 years between Abraham's visit and Joseph's arrival in Egypt ; and, if we take 1900 as the date of Abraham's visit, Joseph would get there about 1700 B.C., i.e. at some time during the domination of the Hyksos kings, who were expelled in 1580 B.C., after a rule of at least 200 years. These Hyksos, or shepherd, kings were Semites from Syria, who came across the isthmus of Suez, and, fixing their capital at Tanis (Zoan), in the

Delta, established their supremacy over the whole of Egypt, though native kings still held rule in Thebes, much like the Rajahs in India to-day. That it was during their dominance that Joseph came into Egypt is rendered probable for many reasons. Their capital would be the obvious market for the Midianite (or Ishmaelite) caravan, who sold him to a high officer of the Court. The subsequent promotion of Joseph to be Grand Vizier is inconceivable under a native dynasty, but would be far more likely under a Hyksos king of his own Semite race ; and his marriage with the daughter of the priest of Anu (Heliopolis) implies the same racial connexion. The title given to him (Gen. xli. 43), translated in the A.V. ' Bow the knee,' is Abrek, or Abara-khu, a Babylonian title of one of the five chief officers of state. The kindly reception given to Jacob and his family, and the assignment to them of the land of Goshen, some thirty-five miles from Zoan, point in the same direction ; and the statement (Gen. xlvi. 34) that ' every shepherd is an abomination unto the Egyptians ' indicates the hatred felt by the Egyptians towards the shepherd kings and their followers ; they were as mutually hostile as the Normans and the English in the eleventh century. It is significant that the system of land tenure described in Gen. xlvii. was non-existent during the first twelve dynasties, but is found in full operation in the eighteenth ; which at any rate harmonizes with the attribution of its origin to Joseph during the Hyksos period. ' The new king ' (or dynasty) ' which knew not Joseph ' (Exod. i. 8) is most naturally understood to mean the Eighteenth

Dynasty, by whom the Hyksos were expelled after a fierce conflict, and who, therefore, would regard as enemies their Hebrew kinsmen and protégés. A tradition, recorded by George the Syncellus, that Joseph's elevation was in the seventeenth year of Aphophis, agrees with this view; for Aphophis is Apepa II, one of the later shepherd kings. It is worth noting that the Papyrus Sallier says: 'Now King Aphophis made Sutekh his lord, serving no other god, who was in the whole land, save Sutekh'; and Pharaoh's attitude and words in Gen. xli. imply that he was a monotheist.

At the same time, although foreigners, the Hyksos monarchs adopted in course of time the old Pharaonic insignia and titles, and fell in with the national customs and practices of Egypt, consecrated, as they were, by so many centuries of observance. In the story of Joseph there are many references to Egyptian customs and ways of thinking, which, though older than the Hyksos period, had been adopted by them. For example, there was a great demand in Egypt for various resinous substances, such as the gum tragacanth, mastic, and ladanum, mentioned in Gen. xxxvii. 25; the office of major-domo is often mentioned; and the exception to Joseph's authority (Gen. xxxix. 6) was due to ceremonial reasons (cf. Gen. xliii. 32); the offices of chief butler (or cupbearer) and chief baker are well known from the monuments; and the observance of Pharaoh's birthday (Gen. xl. 20) was celebrated with great pomp. Other noteworthy references are Joseph's shaving and change of apparel (Gen. xli. 14); the unique importance

of the Nile to Egypt (Gen. xli.) ; the reed-grass which grew along its banks ; the significance attached to dreams (Gen. xl. and xli.) ; the magicians or sacred scribes, part of whose business was the interpretation of dreams (Gen. xli. 8) ; the fine linen and golden chain bestowed on Joseph as insignia of his rank (Gen. xli. 42); the use of horses and chariots, which appear to have been introduced into Egypt by the Hyksos kings (Gen. xli. 43) ; the occurrence of long famines, owing to deficient inundations of the Nile ; and the embalming of the dead (Gen. l. 2, 26). The exactness and accuracy of these references show the genuineness of the story, and the acquaintance of its narrators with Egyptian habits and customs.

III

THE OPPRESSION AND THE EXODUS

JOSEPH died in Egypt at the age of one hundred and ten, i.e. ninety-five years after his arrival there Taking 1700 B.C. as the date of his arrival, his death took place about 1600 B.C., or twenty years before the expulsion of the Hyksos by the Theban leaders, who founded the Eighteenth Dynasty. This dynasty, or its first king, Aahmes I (1580–57), is called ' a new king which knew not Joseph ' (Exod. i. 8). We are told that during the earlier years of this dynasty the Hebrews multiplied so rapidly that efforts were made to destroy their male children (Exod. i. 15–22) ; and they were reduced to serfdom and compelled to make bricks and build store cities for the king. Moses, although he had been adopted by the daughter of Pharaoh, patriotically resolved to rescue his people from bondage, and, after inflicting a series of plagues on the Egyptians, led the Israelites out over the northern tongue of the Red Sea[1] into the Sinaitic peninsula, and thence into the desert south of Palestine. As Petrie has pointed out, the plagues are not only extreme cases of troubles indigenous to Egypt, but are narrated in their seasonal order : the ' red ' Nile early in June, the frogs in July, the flies, cattle-plague, and boils in the late summer and autumn, the hail

[1] Or perhaps, as Professor Peet suggests, across the spit of land between Lake Serbonis and the Mediterranean.

and rain in January, the locusts in February, and the sand-storm and darkness in March. The Exodus thus would take place in April, the Jewish Nisan, in which the commemorative Feast of the Passover has always been, and still is, celebrated—a striking example of 'undesigned coincidence.'

The date of the Exodus is still the subject of considerable controversy. The limits of our space will not permit of a detailed discussion; those who wish to pursue the subject further can consult Jack's *Date of the Exodus*, to which I am greatly indebted, and with the conclusions of which I am in general accord.

It may be well to say at the outset that there are three views as to the date of the Exodus, each of which has its advocates. The majority of the older commentators make Rameses III the Pharaoh of the Oppression, and Merenptah the Pharaoh of the Exodus, which they, therefore, date about 1233 B.C. Many more recent investigators are disposed to regard Tahutmes III as the Pharaoh of the Oppression, and Amenhotep II as the Pharaoh of the Exodus, the date of which would, therefore, be about 1445 B.C. An intermediate opinion, which is supported by Mr. Arthur Weigall, makes the date about 1360 B.C., in the reign of Tutankhamen.

The points to consider are:

(1) *The Hebrew Chronological Data.* From the Exodus to the foundation of the Temple in the fourth year of Solomon's reign 480 years elapsed (1 Kings vi. 1). From the Assyrian Canon, compared with the list of the Kings of Judah and Israel in 1 Kings, the fourth

year of Solomon is definitely fixed as 966 B.C. By working backwards from the fall of Samaria (722 B.C.) we reach practically the same date (965 B.C.). Adding to this 480 years, we get 1446 or 1445 B.C. as the date of the Exodus. It seems clear that the compiler of the Book of Judges accepted the reckoning of 480 years from the Exodus to the building of the Temple as his basis, and divided it up as follows:

The Wilderness Sojourn . .	40 years
Othniel (Judges iii. 11). . .	40 years
Ehud (Judges iii. 30) . . .	80 years
Deborah (Judges v. 31) . .	40 years
Gideon (Judges viii. 28) . .	40 years
Samson (Judges xvi. 31) . .	20 years
Eli (1 Sam. iv. 18) . . .	40 years
David (1 Kings ii. 11) . . .	40 years
Solomon (1 Kings vi. 1) . .	4 years
Total	344 years

If we add to this the seventy-six years which are assigned to the Minor Judges and Jephthah, we get a total of 420 years. The years of foreign oppression are not counted separately, but are included in the judgeship of the deliverer, according to the method usually employed by the Jewish chronologers. Similarly, the period of the conquest of Palestine is included in the judgeship of Othniel, who was one of the original invaders (Judges i. 12). The length of Samuel's judgeship is not specified, but we cannot well estimate it as less than forty years, as he was young

when Eli died, and describes himself as 'old and grey-headed' at the accession of Saul (1 Sam. xii. 2). In 1 Sam. xiii. 1 Saul is said to have reigned two years over Israel; but the text is obviously corrupt, and we may safely substitute twenty for two. Adding, then, forty years for Samuel and twenty for Saul, we get a total of exactly 480 years. The recurrence of the round number forty shows that the figures must not be taken as exact; but what is fairly clear is that the editor agreed with the estimate of 1 Kings vi. 1, and arranged his scheme to correspond with it.

Starting now from the other end, we are told (Exod. xii. 40) that the sojourning of Israel in Egypt was 430 years; which Paul (Gal. iii. 17) interprets as meaning the interval between the promise to Abraham and the giving of the Law. Assuming that Abraham was born about 2000 B.C., the promise was given him in 1900 B.C. (Gen. xvii. 1). Take 430 from this, and we get 1470 B.C. for the Exodus; which, considering the uncertainty of the earlier dates, is remarkably close to the 1446 B.C. reached from the other end and quite independently.

If this date be accepted, it would make Tahutmes III (1503–1449 B.C.) the Pharaoh of the Oppression, and his son, Amenhotep II (1449–23 B.C.), the Pharaoh of the Exodus. Tahutmes was the greatest of the Eighteenth-Dynasty Pharaohs; he made seventeen campaigns in Asia, marching across the Isthmus of Suez into Syria as far as the Euphrates; and his 'store cities,' or dépôts, would naturally be in the Delta. Two of these were afterwards known as Pithom

and Raamses, and in the building of them he employed the Hebrew inhabitants of the neighbouring district of Goshen (Exod. i. 11). He was a great builder as well as a great conqueror, and there are many remains of his work in the north of Egypt ; amongst them the two obelisks from Heliopolis, one of which is now in New York and the other on the Thames Embankment. The famous picture of the brickmakers is from the tomb of Rekhmara, a high official of Tahutmes III, at Abd-el-Qoorneh ; and, whether it actually represents the Israelites or not, it certainly proves that serfs were employed during his reign in just such work as is described in Exod. v. 6. The straw of which the Hebrews were deprived was not for mixing with the clay, but for preventing the wet bricks from sticking together. Tahutmes was succeeded by his son, Amenhotep II, in 1449 B.C., and he reigned for about twenty-six years ; but it is remarkable that there are no records of any wars undertaken by him after the fifth year of his reign. If the Exodus took place in 1445 B.C., and ' all the host of Pharaoh ' was drowned in the Red Sea, it would account for the sudden cessation at that time of his expeditions into Asia. It is not stated in Exod. xiv. and xv. that Pharaoh himself was involved in the destruction of his army, so that the discovery of his mummy in 1898 does not conflict with the Bible story. The fact that his successor, Tahutmes IV, was not his eldest son agrees with the statement of Exod. xii. 29 that the first-born of Pharaoh perished in the last plague.

Another interesting coincidence results from this

date for the Exodus. Moses was one hundred and twenty when he died (Deut. xxxiv. 7). Therefore he was eighty at the time of the Exodus, and forty when he fled from Egypt to Midian (Acts vii. 30). These recurring forties must not be taken as more than round numbers, but they indicate that Moses was born when Hatshepsut, the famous woman-Pharaoh and daughter of Tahutmes I, was a young princess; and she may well have been the daughter of Pharaoh who adopted Moses. She reigned over Egypt as co-regent with her brother, Tahutmes II, from 1516 to 1503 B.C., and with her nephew, Tahutmes III, from 1503 to 1481 B.C. She was intensely jealous of her young colleagues, and it may be that she adopted Moses with the idea of making him her successor on the throne. If this were so, the renunciation of Moses (Heb. xi. 24) receives a new significance.

It is worth note that both Manetho and Choeremon call the Pharaoh of the Exodus Amenophis, i.e. Amenhotep.

(2) *The List of High Priests*, from Aaron to Azariah (1 Chron. vi. 3), 'who executed the priest's office in the house that Solomon built' (for it is generally agreed that this sentence refers to the Azariah mentioned in verse 9) includes twelve names or generations; and, reckoning a generation as forty years, this gives us 480 years from the Exodus to Solomon's Temple, as in 1 Kings vi. 1. The list is obviously artificial, and cannot be taken as strictly chronological; but it is an additional proof that the estimate of 480 years was accepted as correct; and we are justified in assuming

that there was a uniform tradition to this effect which must have had some sort of authority, and can hardly have been so far from the truth as the later date of the Exodus in the reign of Merenptah (1233 B.C.) would necessitate.

(3) *The Tel-el-Amarna Letters.* In 1887 a number of clay tablets was discovered in the ruins of the palace of Akhen-aten at his capital city of Akhetaten, now Tel-el-Amarna. They were written mostly in cuneiform characters, and proved to be dispatches from various chieftains in Asia to Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV, who changed his name to Akhen-aten when he broke away from the national religion, and avowed himself a monotheist and worshipper of the one god, Aten, or the sun's disk, after whom he named both himself and his new capital. Like Abraham before him and Mohammed after him, he felt himself impelled to become a missionary of his new faith, and to seek a new home for its establishment. So he transferred his Court from Thebes to a point about half way between that city and Memphis, and there built a magnificent temple to the Aten, and a great palace for himself and his Court. His noble conception of the goodness and universal benevolence of God made war hateful to him, and during his short reign of eighteen years (1383–65 B.C.) he entirely renounced his predecessors' policy of conquest, and refused to take any steps either to extend or to maintain the ascendency of Egypt in Palestine. The dispatches from the Syrian chieftains are full of the most urgent appeals for help against the invading

tribes who are capturing their cities and threatening the complete destruction of Egyptian control; and amongst them are six from Abdi-Hiba, the Governor of Jerusalem, who is probably to be identified with the Adoni-zedek of Joshua x. 1 and 3. He tells how 'the land of the king has been given to the Habiru'; how 'the Habiru are devastating all the lands of the king'; and declares, 'If no troops arrive, the lands of the king, my lord, are lost.' These Habiru are attacking the cities of the south, and are threatening Jerusalem itself, though they have not yet taken it. This entirely tallies with the account of the invasion of the south of Palestine by Caleb and Othniel in Judges i. 9–21, which appears to be distinct from the attack by Joshua on the east and north. Now the children of Israel were already known in Egypt as Hebrews; Abram is called 'Abram the Hebrew' (Gen. xiv. 13); Joseph says that he was 'stolen away out of the land of the Hebrews' (Gen. xl. 15), and is called a Hebrew by Potiphar's wife (Gen. xxxix. 14); and in the earlier chapters of Exodus the Israelites are uniformly called Hebrews both by Moses and by the Egyptians. Hence Abdi-hiba would naturally describe them by this name in writing to Egypt. The Hebrew form of the word is Hibhri (where the 'H' represents an Ayin); and Professor Langdon of Oxford says, 'The possibility of identifying *Habiru* with the Hebrew *Hibhri* is philologically unquestionable.' The neglect of Akhenaten to send help to his Palestinian vassals is in perfect accord with what we know of his pacifist policy; and there seems, therefore, good reason to believe that the

references in the Tel-el-Amarna letters are to the Hebrew invasion of southern Palestine. As this invasion took place about 1380 B.C., the Exodus must have occurred at least forty years before ; and the date above suggested of 1445 B.C. would agree closely with this, as we must allow some twenty-five years at least for the conquest to be carried out. At any rate, it definitely rules out the Merenptah date (1233 B.C.)

(4) *The Stele of Merenptah.* In 1896 Sir Flinders Petrie discovered, on the back of a granite stele recording the achievements of Amenhotep III, an inscription of Merenptah celebrating his victories (real or imaginary) in a campaign in Asia. The date of it is 1228 B.C., or thereabouts. After speaking of the capture of Ashkelon, Gezer, and other towns, he says, 'Israel is destroyed, his seed is not.' This clearly implies that the Israelites were settled in parts of Palestine in 1228 B.C., and is quite inconsistent with the Merenptah date for the Exodus, whilst it is in accord with an earlier date, such as 1445 B.C.

(5) *The Coming of the Philistines.* In the early part of the reign of Rameses III (about 1200 B.C.) the 'Sea-peoples,' afterwards known as the Philistines, made an attack on the coast of Egypt from the Aegean Islands ; but, being repulsed, they passed over to the south coast of Palestine, and there settled in the five cities of Gaza, Gath, Ashkelon, Ashdod, and Ekron. They brought with them from Caphtor, i.e. Crete[1] (Deut. ii. 23 ; Amos ix. 7), a civilization far in advance of that of the Amorites or the Hebrews ; and especially

[1] Or possibly Cilicia.

they had passed from the Bronze to the Iron Age, and had weapons and implements of this new and more efficient metal (cf. 1 Sam. xiii. 19–21). They imposed the name upon the land which it has borne ever since—Palestine; and this name became so familiar that it is used proleptically in Gen. xxi. 32, xxvi. 1, &c., of a time several centuries before they came on the scene; just as we find, in many old school-books, England used as the name of our own country long before the Angles had made it their home. Now there is no trace of the Hebrews having come into conflict with the Philistines during the whole period of the conquest and the earlier Judges. It is true that Shamgar is said to have killed 600 Philistines with an ox-goad (Judges iii. 31), but here again the name is used proleptically of the people who then lived in what was afterwards the Philistine country. The statement in Judges x. 7 that the Lord sold Israel into the hand of the Philistines and Ammonites is an introduction to the two remaining sections of the book, which tell the story of the Ammonite and Philistine oppressions; and it is not until the time of the last of the Judges, Samson, that we find any indication of their interference with Israel (Judges xiii. 1). Hence we may safely conclude that the conquest of the land by Joshua, and the wars of the earlier Judges, took place before the coming of the Philistines; and this consideration makes the Merenptah date for the Exodus impossible, but harmonizes with the date 1445 B.C. Indeed, it is most probable that the attacks upon Israel in the time of Samson immediately followed upon the arrival of the

Philistines about 1200 B.C., and formed a part of their plan for establishing themselves firmly in their new home.

The older theory that the Pharaoh of the Oppression was Rameses II, and the Pharaoh of the Exodus Merenptah, depends mainly on two arguments. First is the statement in Exod. i. 11 that the Israelites ' built for Pharaoh store cities, Pithom and Raamses ' ; and that they started their journey to the Red Sea from ' Rameses ' (Exod. xii. 37). It is argued that the city of Raamses must have been named after Rameses II, and that the Exodus must therefore have been subsequent to his reign (1292–25 B.C.). Rameses may quite probably have rebuilt and enlarged these store cities, or military dépôts ; and it is in conformity with his itch for perpetuating his own name that he should have renamed one of them after himself ; but it by no means follows that he was their original founder. It is natural that later writers should use the names of places current in their own time ; just as in Gen. xiv. 14 Abram is said to have pursued Chedor-laomer and his confederates ' unto Dan,' though we know from Judges xviii. 29 that its name was then Laish, and it was not called Dan until many centuries after the death of Abram. The city of Raamses became famous, and gave its name to the whole district round it, as we see from Gen. xlvii. 11, where Goshen is called ' the land of Rameses ' ; but no one will argue from this that Joseph came into Egypt after the time of Rameses II. When Ben Jonson tells us, in his *Tale of a Tub*, that Julius Caesar crossed the Thames at Hammersmith, no one would dream of suggesting that

he thought that Caesar came to Britain after the founding of that town. The second line of argument is that the great warrior-kings of the Nineteenth Dynasty (Seti I and Rameses II) led expeditions into Asia to recover the lands which had been lost to Egypt in the time of Akhen-aten and his successors; and that, if the Israelites had been then in possession of the country, there must have been some record in their history of these invasions. But this argument overlooks two facts; first, that the idealized and foreshortened account of the conquest in the earlier part of Joshua must be corrected by statements in the later chapters, and especially in the first chapter of Judges; which make it clear that for a long time the Israelites failed to take any of the more important cities, or fortresses, in Palestine, and were confined to the country districts in the central range of Judaea and Ephraim. Seti and Rameses marched along the great coast road through what was afterwards the Philistine country in order to check the formidable Hittite empire in the north; they would have neither time nor motive for attacking the peaceable peasantry in the hill-country to the east; and their armies swept past and returned without interfering with them. Indeed, it is not unlikely that the Israelites accepted during this period the nominal suzerainty of Egypt, and so secured themselves from attack. In any case, it must be remembered that the records of the Hebrews are very fragmentary, and, even if they did suffer during these expeditions, it does not follow that any account of them would have been preserved.

It is due to Mr. Arthur Weigall to mention the theory which is associated with his name. He suggests that Moses was behind the monotheistic revolution of Akhen-aten, and that in the reaction which followed in the reign of Tutankhamen the Israelites were expelled by the Theban priests as being supporters of ' the criminal of Akhetaten.' This would make the date of the Exodus about 1360 B.C. The difficulties involved in the later date in the reign of Merenptah tell almost equally against this view ; and it has no historical foundation beyond a very obscure passage in Manetho, in which the ruler of the Hebrews, Osarsiph, ' who afterwards changed his name to Moses,' is said to have organized a revolt against Amenophis and the worship of the Egyptian gods, and to have been defeated by that monarch and driven to the bounds of Syria.

Unless and until further evidence is forthcoming, it is safest to accept the date 1445 B.C. as being most in accord with the facts as we know them, both from the biblical record and the Egyptian monuments and letters. But, whichever date is finally determined on, the essential fact for the purposes of this lecture remains—to wit, that the Israelites were in close contact for some centuries with the civilization of Egypt during its greatest period under the Pharaohs of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and whilst, having no religious or political organization of their own, they would be most susceptible to the influences of their environment. They were only a small community, not exceeding five or six thousand souls, for the one hundred square miles of

the district of Goshen could not have supported a much larger number. The census in Num. i., which agrees closely with that of Num. xxvi., gives apparently a total of about 600,000 ; but, as Sir Flinders Petrie has shown, this incredible number is due to a mistranslation of the word *alāf*, which means, not a thousand, but a family or tent-group. Thus in Num. i. 21 the translation should be, not 46,500, but forty-six tent-groups, totalling 500 souls ; and so throughout the list. The hundreds thus represent the actual population ; and they add up to 5,550 in chap. i. and 5,730 in chap. xxvi. This number explains how it was that only two midwives were required for them (Exod. i. 15) ; that Moses was able personally to judge all their disputes (Exod. xviii. 13) ; that it was possible to provide for their commissariat during the journey from the Red Sea to the wilderness of Sin for a month and a half (Exod. xvi. 1) ; and that it was only with difficulty that they could resist the attack of the Amalekites at Rephidim (Exod. xvii. 8). It is impossible that a comparatively small body of settlers like this should not have been profoundly affected by the highly developed civilization with which they were so long in close contact ; and though for the last 150 years or so of their sojourn they were in a condition of serfdom, it must be remembered that during the Hyksos period they belonged to the ruling race, and one of them, Joseph, was the Grand Vizier at the Court of the king ; and the later Hyksos kings had become thoroughly Egyptianized, and had conformed to the customs and practices of their adopted country. Moreover,

their leader and lawgiver, Moses, as the adopted son of the daughter of Pharaoh, was doubtless, as Hebrew tradition recorded (Acts vii. 22), 'instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians,' which included the knowledge of both cuneiform and hieroglyphic writing, and a wide range of scientific, literary, and artistic culture, as well as familiarity with the religious ideas and observances of Egypt. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that we should find abundant traces of Egyptian influence in the later history of Israel; the marvel—nay, the miracle—is that they were not completely absorbed by Egypt, but were able to retain their national language and their sense of tribal unity as descendants of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. When one thinks of what happened to the ten tribes who were deported to Assyria after the capture of Samaria, or (to take more modern parallels) to the Flemings who were brought over to England by Henry II and Edward III, and to the Normans in France, one cannot but recognize in their retention of their national consciousness and individuality a striking proof of the overruling providence of God in thus preserving the people of His choice for the great destiny for which He had selected them out of all the nations of the earth.

IV

LATER CONTACTS WITH EGYPT

During the period of the Judges there was little or no contact of any importance between Egypt and the Hebrew settlers in Palestine. As we have seen, the Asiatic expeditions of Seti I, Rameses II, Merenptah, and Rameses III were directed mainly against the Hittite empire, and their passage along the coast road would leave the peasant population of the central range unaffected. It is true that Merenptah boasts that he desolated Israel, but the reference is probably to some small portion of the people, if, indeed, it is more than one of the usual exaggerations indulged in by the Egyptian monarchs. The later Ramessids (1167–1090 B.C.) were mere puppets in the hands of the Theban priesthood, and had neither leisure nor inclination to interfere in Asia; and it is not till the time of David that we find any trace in the Hebrew records of any intercourse with Egypt. When Joab conquered Edom, *circ.* 1005 B.C., Hadad, one of the king's seed, and a young child, was taken down to Egypt, and found refuge at the Court of the then Pharaoh (Siamen); he stayed there, and ultimately married the sister of Tahpenes, the queen of Pasibkhanu II, the last of the Twenty-first (Tanite) Dynasty (1 Kings xi. 14–22). His son, Genubath, was brought up among the sons of Pharaoh, and he himself remained in Egypt, watching for an opportunity

to revenge himself upon the house of David. During the building of the Temple, Solomon married the daughter of Pasibkhanu II, built her a palace in Jerusalem, and received as her dowry the city of Gezer, which, as we learn from Joshua xvi. 10, had never been taken by the Hebrews (1 Kings iii. 1, ix. 16, 24). Shishak I, the founder of the Twenty-second or Libyan Dynasty, legitimized his claim to the throne by marrying Karamat, another daughter of Pasibkhanu, and the sister of Solomon's wife. It is clear that this relationship led to enmity between Shishak and Solomon ; and, when Jeroboam was designated by the prophet Abijah as the future king of the northern tribes, he fled to Shishak for protection, and remained in Egypt until the death of Solomon (1 Kings xi. 40). It was probably in support of his protégé, Jeroboam, that, in the fifth year of Rehoboam, Shishak invaded Judah, and captured Jerusalem and many other towns, as he records on the wall of the temple at Karnak (1 Kings xiv. 25). His son Zerah, who is better known as Usarkon I, carried on his father's policy, and attacked Asa with a huge army about 903 B.C., but was defeated by the pious monarch (2 Chron. xiv. 9). Though the numbers of Zerah's host are probably exaggerated by the Chronicler, there is no reason to doubt the substantial accuracy of his story ; at all events, Egypt left Judah alone for nearly two centuries after this defeat.

Meanwhile, the Assyrian kings were steadily pushing south. In 734 B.C. Tiglath-Pileser III ravaged Galilee and the Transjordanic district of Gilead (2 Kings xv. 29) ; he captured Damascus, and reduced Hoshea, the King

of Israel, to a condition of dependency. On the accession of Shalmaneser IV, Hoshea saw a chance of recovering his independence, and refused to pay tribute, relying on the help of 'So, King of Egypt,' who is probably to be identified with Shabaka, the founder of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty (2 Kings xvii. 4). But Egypt proved a broken reed, and Shalmaneser IV besieged Samaria, and after three years his successor, Sargon, took the city (722 B.C.) and carried away the northern tribes into captivity. Judah was now left as a buffer state between the two great rival empires of Assyria and Egypt. It was natural enough that she should turn for help to Egypt against the terrifying advance of Assyria, in spite of the reiterated warnings of Isaiah. When Sennacherib invaded Judah, 701 B.C., Tirhakah, the fourth king of the Twenty-fifth (Ethiopian) Dynasty, led an army out to repel him, doubtless at the urgent invitation of Hezekiah (Isa. xviii.–xx), but was hopelessly defeated (Isa. xxxvi. 6). Though Sennacherib's army was destroyed by plague, it was more and more obvious that the only wise policy for Jerusalem was to accept the Assyrian suzerainty; and it was in pursuance of this policy that Josiah met his death in opposing the march of Necho, of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, against Assyria (2 Kings xxiii. 29). On his victorious return, Necho deposed Jehoahaz and took him away as a prisoner to Egypt, appointing Jehoiakim in his stead. But a new and unexpected element came into the situation with the sudden rise of the Neo-Babylonian empire under Nebuchadrezzar, who crushed Necho at the battle

of Carchemish in 605 B.C., and, when Jehoiakim attempted to rebel against him, besieged and took Jerusalem in 598 B.C., and completed his work by again taking the city in 588 B.C., burning it to the ground, and carrying off the inhabitants to Babylon.

It must not be supposed, however, that there was no intercourse between Egypt and Palestine except in connexion with these political complications. The trade relations which were initiated by Solomon, who 'had horses brought out of Egypt' (1 Kings x. 28), doubtless continued through all the period of the monarchy. The road from southern Judah across the Isthmus of Suez was thronged with travelling merchants and their caravans, and galleys plied from the coast of Syria to the mouths of the Nile; and this peaceful penetration went on all the more vigorously whilst the war-trumpets were silent. As Professor Macalister says (*Century of Excavation in Palestine*, p. 246), 'The large number of small Egyptian objects which have been found in this country make it probable that intercourse with Egypt was literary as well as commercial.'

To complete the story, it must be remembered that, after the murder of the Babylonian governor, Gedaliah, by Ishmael, the remnant of the population of Judaea, along with the king's daughters and Jeremiah the prophet, went down to Egypt to escape the vengeance of Nebuchadrezzar, and settled in Tahpanhes (Jer. xliii. 5–7). This Tahpanhes is the Greek Daphnae, now Tell Defneh, a frontier fortress built to protect the Delta from any possible Asiatic invasion. The refugees were kindly received by Hophra, but this did

not prevent Jeremiah from declaring that he should be given into the hand of his enemies and killed (Jer. xliv. 30), which came to pass in 567 B.C. The records have also been recovered of a large Jewish colony at Syene (Aswan), where they had a temple of Yahu as early as 525 B.C., destroyed in 410 B.C., though permission to rebuild it was granted three years later. When Alexandria was founded by Alexander the Great in 332 B.C., the Jews flocked thither, and had a quarter assigned to them in the north-eastern part of the city, where they were governed by their own Alabarch and allowed the free exercise of their religion. Through them Ptolemy II became aware of the existence of the Book of the Law, and had it translated into Greek for his famous library ; and ultimately the whole of the Old Testament was so translated. This Septuagint version (LXX) was a priceless gift, both to the Jews and to the Christian Church. In 160 B.C., Onias, son of the murdered high priest, fled into Egypt, and got permission from Ptolemy VII to build a temple on a site some twenty miles north of Cairo, which is still called Tell el Yehudiyeh. It was modelled on the Temple at Jerusalem, and it has been recently excavated by Sir Flinders Petrie ; we shall have something more to say about it when we come to consider the structure of Solomon's Temple.

Finally, it was to Egypt that Joseph, with Mary and the child Jesus, fled for refuge from Herod the Great ; and the author of the First Gospel saw in this a mystical fulfilment of the word of Hosea, ' Out of Egypt have I called My son.'

PART II

THE INFLUENCE OF EGYPT ON THE RELIGION OF ISRAEL

I

THE CONCEPTION OF GOD

THE indigenous inhabitants of the Nile valley appear to have been of African origin, akin partly to the Libyans of North Africa, partly to the tribes now inhabiting the Soudan; and their religion was of a primitive type, not unlike that of the uncivilized negroes of the interior and west coast to-day. They formed separate settlements along the course of the river; and each of these had its own fetishes and animal gods. But in very early times migrations of Semitic races took place into Egypt, some coming across the Isthmus of Suez, others over the Red Sea from Arabia; they had little difficulty in conquering the native tribes, and founded the kingdoms of the north and south respectively, known to the Hebrews as Misraim—the two Egypts. These were united under Menes, the founder of the First Dynasty, about 4000 B.C.; but their memory was preserved in the official title of all the later monarchs—'The Lord of the Two Lands' and in the double crown which they all wear in the monuments—a combination of the red crown of Lower and the white crown of Upper Egypt. The Semitic invaders brought with them their own religion, which, like that of their kinsmen in Babylonia, was based on the worship of the sun and the planets; but, while this became the official religion, it did not replace the native cults, but amalgamated with them; the

result being what Petrie calls 'a chaotic mass of contradictions which were continually in flux and accepted differently by each age, each district, and even each person.' The tendency, however, was to recognize in Ra, the sun-god, the supreme manifestation of Deity; and during the Twelfth Dynasty the great temple at On was built in his honour, and his worship was organized by the scholars and priests who gathered there. He absorbed into himself the names and attributes of the various local sun-gods; and the ancient Tum of the Delta, the Horus of Southern Egypt, the Amen of Thebes, the Ptah of Memphis, were identified with him; he was called Khepera at his rising, Aten in the glory of his midday splendour, Osiris in his setting and descent into the world of the dead. By the time with which we are chiefly concerned, the Eighteenth Dynasty, Ra was fully recognized as the one supreme God. In the great hymn preserved in the Gizeh Museum (*Pap. Bulak* 17) he is addressed as 'Prince of Heaven, heir of earth, the Lord who giveth duration to all things, alone in his forms in the midst of the gods, the chief of all the gods, Lord of truth, father of the gods, maker of men; only form, who didst make all that is, one and only one, maker of all that have being.' He was identified not only with the other forms of the sun-god, but also with some of the older animal objects of worship; especially with the sparrow-hawk, which flashes down from the sky like a beam of light, and with the Apis bull at Memphis, the embodiment of strength and reproductiveness. Thus the priestly

religion was essentially monotheistic; and when Akhenaten tried to abolish all other objects of worship in favour of the Aten, or the sun's disk, it was not so much a revolution as a reformation; a carrying to its logical conclusion of the already recognized supremacy of the sun-god. It failed because of the opposition of the great priestly guilds of Thebes and elsewhere, who saw their occupation in danger and their revenues diverted; and Akhenaten's son-in-law, Tutankh-aten, whose magnificent tomb has given him an adventitious glory far beyond his deserts, changed his name to Tutankh-amen, and returned from the palaces and temples of Akhet-aten to the old centre of Amen-worship at Thebes.

But whilst the priestly and philosophical religion was thus monotheistic, the popular religion was little affected by it. The most popular god was Osiris, the incarnation of Ra in human form, who had been murdered and restored to life, and so became the Lord of the Under-world, and held the keys of the gates of death; and to him men turned rather than to the more abstract Ra or Aten. The same desire for a god with human sympathies led to the widespread cult of Hathor-Isis and her bambino, the younger Horus; and in their private troubles men still had recourse to the tutelary gods of their own district and household; just as in the Middle Ages in Europe far more prayers were addressed to the Virgin Mary, to national saints, like St. George and St. Denis and St. Andrew, and to individual patron saints, like St. Christopher and St. Francis and St. Thomas à Becket, than to the Almighty Himself.

What, then, was the religious condition of Israel during the long centuries of their sojourn in Egypt? We may be sure that Abraham handed down to Isaac and Jacob his faith in the one supreme God, whom he knew, not as Jehovah, but as El Shaddai (Exod. vi. 3), and though apparently even this name had been forgotten, and the Hebrews knew God simply as 'The God of our fathers' (Exod. iii. 13), they were aware that they had a tribal God, and that He could not be acceptably worshipped in a land which belonged to other deities, so that they had to go 'three days' journey into the wilderness' in order to sacrifice to Him (Exod. v. 3). Each of the districts, or nomes, into which Egypt was divided, had its own patron deity; and it would therefore be natural that the Hebrews should regard their fathers' God in that light. But it may well be that the more thoughtful of them looked beyond the idea of a tribal god to the conception of one supreme Deity; and living, as they did, almost in sight of the great Temple of Ra at On, and in constant contact with his worshippers, they could hardly fail to identify this supreme God with Ra himself. That, in fact, they did so is suggested by the marriage of Joseph to the daughter of the High Priest of On (Gen. xli. 50), who thus became the ancestress of the great tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh; and he could hardly have done this if he had not identified Ra with the God of his own faith; moreover, his care for the mummification of his father's body and of his own indicates some sort of sympathy with the Ra-Osiris cult. It is very significant, too, that at the foot

of Sinai the Hebrews adopted the Apis bull as the symbol of the god who had brought them out of the land of Egypt; and we find a recrudescence of the same thing in the calves that Jeroboam set up at Bethel and Dan on his return from Egypt. It is also worth noting that it was under the symbol of fire that God revealed Himself at the burning bush, in the pillar of fire in the wilderness, and in the Shekinah which shone over the Mercy Seat between the Cherubim. Sun-worship is natural enough in a cloudless land like Egypt. At a recent conference in Oxford, during which the weather had been dull and rainy, one of the members said to a Parsee gentleman, 'I am surprised that a man of your intelligence and culture should worship the sun.' 'Ah!' said the Parsee, 'but you have never seen him.' Indeed, there is a remarkable passage in the Book of Deuteronomy (iv. 19) in which it seems to be implied that, whilst sun and star worship is prohibited to the Hebrews, these luminaries were 'divided unto all the peoples under the whole heaven,' apparently as objects of legitimate adoration.

Thus the residence of the Hebrews in Egypt would confirm them in the belief in their own tribal god, received by tradition from their forefathers; and in the identification of him with some form of the supreme Deity. As Wiedemann says (*Religion of Ancient Egyptians*, p. 12), 'From the Hyksos period onwards the origin of all forms of religion was sought in sun-worship; nearly all the principal deities were thenceforth amalgamated with the sun-god.' They were thus prepared for the teaching of Moses that the God

of their fathers had sent him to deliver them out of the hand of the Egyptians, and that His name was Jehovah; and, further, that they were to have no other gods beside Him. But in three striking respects the revelation as to the nature of God was rather a reaction against than a development of Egyptian ideas and practices; and just as Martin Luther's *Wittenberg Theses* can only be understood through a knowledge of the abuses of the Roman Church against which he protested, so the teaching of Moses requires for its full appreciation the recognition of the Egyptian conceptions of God which it was his purpose to correct.

In the first place, then, he revealed the tribal god of the Hebrews under the new name of Jehovah. Two accounts of this fundamental revelation have come down to us. The older one, known by the symbol E (Exod. iii. 9–15) tells how God appeared to Moses in the wilderness of Horeb in the burning bush, and ordered him to go back to Egypt and to bring forth the children of Israel out of that land. Moses replies, 'Behold, when I come unto the children of Israel, and shall say unto them, The God of your fathers hath sent me unto you; and they shall say to me, What is His name? what shall I say unto them? And God said unto Moses, I AM THAT I AM; and He said, Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, I AM hath sent me unto you. And God said moreover unto Moses, Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, JEHOVAH, the God of your fathers, hath sent me unto you; . . . this is My name for ever.' The parallel account in the document known as P (Exod. vi. 2–9)

says nothing about the burning bush, but suggests that the revelation took place after the return of Moses to Egypt; it runs: 'And God spake unto Moses and said unto him, I am JEHOVAH; and I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, as El Shaddai, but by my name JEHOVAH I was not known to them.' The correct pronunciation of the great tetragrammaton is uncertain; the consonants are YHVH, but the Jewish practice of always reading it as Adonai led to the substitution of the vowels of Adonai, e, o, and a, for the original vowels of YHVH, and hence it passed into English in the form Jehovah. But whether the proper pronunciation is Yahveh or Jahveh or Yahu, no one can be sure; and therefore it is best to follow the established literary and devotional usage and write it Jehovah. The exact meaning is almost equally doubtful; but it certainly is derived from the verb HVH (to be), and the majority of Hebraists incline to the interpretation 'He who is,' the absolute and unchangeable; the existing, ever-living one. It would seem that both our Lord and His contemporaries understood it in this sense; for when He said to them 'Before Abraham was born, I am,' the Jews took up stones to cast at Him, evidently on the ground that by this phrase He claimed to be Jehovah (John viii. 58). No better definition of its meaning can be found than that in Rev. i. 8, 'I am the Alpha and the Omega, saith the Lord God, which is and which was and which is to come.'

It implies, therefore, in contrast to Egyptian ideas, (1) The self-originated and eternal being of the supreme

God. Amid the welter and confusion of the Egyptian mythology we seek in vain for an eternal and self-originated god. Ra himself, though he came to be the supreme object of worship, is represented variously as the son of Sibu (the earth) and Nuit (the heavens); or as issuing from an egg laid by Ngaguoiru, the Great Cackler; or as disclosed from an opening lotus-bud at the command of Tum; or as born from the union of the Bull of Nuit and the heifer Hathor. It is true that the philosophical priests discarded these crude myths and found the origin of Ra in the primaeval watery chaos, Nu or Nun; but though in the great hymn to Amen-Ra he is addressed as 'Only form, who didst make all that is, one and only one, maker of all that have being,' it is also said, 'He is made out of Nu.' All the other gods have a definite beginning; none of them is thought of as eternal; Osiris, the elder Horus, Sit, Isis, and Nephthys were born on five successive days at Thebes from the union of Nuit and Sibu; the younger Horus is the son of Isis; and so on. And as the gods were born, so they were subject to old age and death. As Ra grew old, 'his body was bent, his mouth trembled, his slaver trickled down to earth, and his saliva dropped upon the ground.' As Maspero says (*Dawn of Civilization*, p. 116), 'The gods were spared none of the anguish and none of the perils which death so plentifully bestows upon men. Their bodies suffered change and gradually perished until nothing was left of them. . . . Each nome possessed the mummy and the tomb of its dead god.' Or, to quote Petrie (*Ency. Religion and Ethics*, v. 250) 'The

gods were not immortal; Ra grew old and decrepit; Osiris was slain. . . . The gods have no divine superiority over man in conditions or limitations.'

(2) The name Jehovah implies the spirituality of God. All the names of the gods of Egypt have a material connotation, and suggest a material form. Ra with all his synonyms is the sun; Khonsu is the moon; Apis and Mnevis are bulls; Hathor-Isis is a heifer; Maat is an ostrich-feather; Horus a sparrow-hawk, Taurt a hippopotamus, Anubis a jackal, Mut a vulture, Thoth an ibis; and so on through the whole confused rabble of deities. Even the most abstract gods, like Ptah of Memphis, are always represented in human form. The name Jehovah has no such suggestion; it stands for pure immaterial existence, without form or embodiment.

The implications of this name are unfolded in the first two of the Ten Words from Sinai (Exod. xx. 2–6): 'I am Jehovah thy God . . . Thou shalt have none other gods before me,' i.e. in my presence, before my face. In contrast to the Egyptian, who worshipped not only Ra, or Amon, or Aten, but also by his side a multitude of other local and personal gods, the Hebrew is to recognize no other god in the presence of Jehovah; He is to be the sole object of worship; and further, 'Thou shalt not make to thee a graven image nor the likeness of any form that is in heaven above' (like the sun or the moon or the planets), 'or that is in the earth beneath' (like man himself, and the various animals in whose form the Egyptians represented their gods), 'or that is in the waters under the earth'

(like the prodigious monsters of the abyss of nether waters, of whom many weird pictures are found in the Egyptian monuments); 'thou shalt not bow down thyself unto them nor serve them.' These two commands are obviously intended to warn the Hebrews against the idolatrous practices with which they had become familiar during their sojourn in the house of bondage, and are suggested by the polytheism and image-worship of Egypt.

It is noteworthy, too, that in the first chapter of Genesis there are at least three references to Egyptian superstitions. As we have seen, the primaeval chaos, called Nu, was the origin of Ra himself, as well as of some of the other Egyptian deities; it existed before the gods, and from it they emerged. But in Gen. i. 1 we are told that God in the beginning created the heaven and the earth; and over the waste and void darkness of chaos the spirit of God moved. God is thus anterior to chaos, which was created by Him, and generated light and life, not spontaneously, but through His incubating Spirit. Then, over against the Egyptian idea of the divinity of the heavenly bodies, we are informed that God made the two great lights—the greater light to rule the day; and the lesser light to rule the night; He made the stars also. And, more strikingly still, it is declared that God created the great sea-monsters; or, as it may well be rendered, 'the great monsters of the Nile'; for in many passages in the Old Testament the sea is used in the sense of the Nile. The reference is probably to the leviathan, or crocodile, and the behemoth, or hippopotamus,

both of which were commonly worshipped as gods in Egypt; and we know from Job xl. and xli. how much the Hebrews were impressed by their strength and marvel. But they also, like the sun and moon and stars, are not to be worshipped as gods; for God created them. What reason could there have been for the specific mention of these creatures amongst the vast numbers of other animals, except as a protest against the idea that they were gods, and legitimate objects of worship? Whatever view may be held as to the date of the document from which the account of the Creation in Gen. i. is taken, these references seem to be a definite protest against Egyptian views and practices, and suggest that they at least are due to a Mosaic tradition.

It is very doubtful whether, in the earlier stages of their religious development, the Hebrews realized all that was involved in the revelation given through Moses of their national God, Jehovah. It was clear that He was their tribal deity, and that they were not to worship any other god, nor to represent Jehovah under any material form. But probably they thought that He was only one amongst the many gods of the different tribes with whom they came in contact, though He was stronger than any of them, and well able to defend His own people from them. 'All the peoples,' says Micah (iv. 5), 'will walk every one in the name of his god,' and they are not blamed for this; 'and we will walk in the name of Jehovah our God for ever and ever.' These strange, or foreign, gods are credited with power, at any rate over their own

worshippers ; Chemosh is said (Num. xxi. 29) to have given his sons as fugitives and his daughters into captivity ; David regarded his expulsion from Israel by Saul as tantamount to a compulsion to ' serve other gods ' (1 Sam. xxvi. 19) ; Naomi speaks of Orpah as having returned ' unto her people and unto her god,' and exhorts Ruth to follow her example (Ruth i. 15). The recurring tendency of the Hebrews during the whole of the pre-exilic period to the worship of the various local Baals proves at any rate that they believed in their existence and power. It was not until they had passed through the furnace of the captivity in Babylon that the dross of polytheism and idolatry was burnt out of them, and the pure gold of the Mosaic conception of Jehovah became current coin. Moses taught the people to sing, ' Their rock is not as our Rock, our enemies themselves being witnesses ' (Deut. xxxii. 31) ; but it is not until the time of the second Isaiah that we find it expressly stated, ' Is there a god beside Me ? yea, there is no Rock ; I know not any ' (Isa. xliv. 8). And, in contradiction to the purest of all ancient religions, the Zoroastrianism of Cyrus and his Persians, with its fire-worship and its two gods of light and darkness, Ormuz and Ahriman, the same great prophet is very bold, and says, ' I am Jehovah, and there is none else. I form the light and create darkness ; I make peace and create evil ; I am Jehovah, that doeth all these things ' (xlv. 7). But all this sublime monotheism is implicit in the name Jehovah ; Moses planted the seed which was to develop and blossom into the ultimate faith of Judaism, and,

through it, of Mohammedanism and of Christianity. And it is not too much to say that we owe this supreme revelation under God to Egypt ; Egyptian henotheism prepared the way, and Egyptian idolatry suggested by contrast the self-existence and the spirituality of Jehovah.

II

CIRCUMCISION

THE most characteristic rite of Judaism is circumcision. It is not necessary here to inquire into the ultimate origin and significance of this rite, which is found in one form or another amongst many primitive peoples in Africa, Melanesia, Australia, and America. According to Hebrew tradition, it was appointed by God as the token of the covenant made between Himself and Abraham, when Abraham was ninety-nine years old (Gen. xvii.). Consequently Abraham himself, his son Ishmael, and 'all the men of his house, those born in the house, and those bought with money of the stranger' were circumcised on the same day. Obviously Abraham had not been previously circumcised; and it is noteworthy that the rite was not confined to his family, but was extended to all the members of his household, including even slaves of foreign extraction. Subsequently, Isaac was circumcised on the eighth day after his birth (Gen. xxi. 4). Now Abraham did not bring the rite with him from his old home in Ur of the Chaldees; for there is no evidence that it was ever practised by the Babylonians and Assyrians, and, if he had derived it thence, he would not have deferred it until he was an old man. But he had quite recently visited Egypt (Gen. xii. 10), and it is not without significance that Ishmael, the first of his descendants to be circumcised, was the son of the Egyptian Hagar.

As Petrie points out, ' The ceremony of circumcision was an Egyptian custom as far back as two thousand years before Abram. It is shown on the early monuments, and it is named by Herodotus.' It may be questioned whether it was practised by the people of the lower classes ; though so eminent an authority as Professor Elliot Smith declares that Amenhotep II was circumcised ' like all other known Egyptian men ' ; but it seems certain that all the members of the priestly classes, and the kings themselves, were circumcised ; and there is good evidence that Pythagoras had to submit to circumcision before he could be admitted to the study of the esoteric wisdom of the priests. It was thus a sign of alliance with a god, and initiation into his service. Now Abraham, during his residence in Lower Egypt, could hardly have failed to observe the practice and significance of the rite amongst the priests of Ra at Heliopolis ; and, when he wanted some outward and visible sign of his covenant with God, it would be natural that he should think of this rite as most suitable for his purpose. The covenant was not only with himself, but with all his seed after him ; hence all the members of his clan received this seal of the covenant. Consequently, when the Hivites sought a marriage alliance with the family of Jacob, the sons of Jacob would only consent that they should ' become one people ' on the condition that every male amongst them should be circumcised (Gen. xxxiv. 32). It may well have been that the rite was neglected during the time of the Egyptian bondage ; indeed, it would appear that Moses himself had failed to circumcise his

own son, Gershom, until ' Jehovah met him and sought to kill him ' (Exod. iv. 24), and only ' let him alone ' after Zipporah had made good his omission. Certainly the rite was praetermitted during the wilderness-wanderings ; and we are told ' all the people that were born in the wilderness by the way as they came forth out of Egypt, they had not circumcised ' (Joshua v. 5).

Hence Joshua circumcised the whole nation at Gilgal, and so ' rolled away the reproach of Egypt ' from them, i.e. the stigma of their long bondage to a foreign nation, which was wiped out now that they received the token of their service to Jehovah. From that day to this the rite has been religiously observed by the Jews ; and it is not surprising that Rabbi Meir should declare that ' in weight it is equal to all the commandments recorded in the Law ' ; and that it should even take precedence of the Law of the Sabbath, so that ' everything necessary for circumcision may be performed on the Sabbath ' (cf. John vii. 22).

Whilst at first circumcision seems to have been merely the outward sign of dedication to the service of Ra, it soon began to be regarded as connoting ceremonial purity, on which great stress was laid by the Egyptians, as is witnessed by the shaving of the head and body and the constant ablutions performed by the priests. This idea naturally passed into that of moral purity, and we find as early as Deuteronomy (xxx. 6) that its spiritual significance is emphasized ; ' Jehovah thy God will circumcise thine heart and the heart of thy seed, to love Jehovah thy God with all thine heart and

with all thy soul' ; and Jeremiah (ix. 26) denounces the house of Israel because they 'are uncircumcised in heart.' It thus became for Paul the prefiguration of Christian dedication to Christ and purity of heart ; 'circumcision,' he says (Rom. ii. 29), 'is that of the heart, in the spirit, not in the letter.' Like the Sabbath, the Jewish feasts, and the distinction between clean and unclean meats, 'it is a shadow of the things to come ; but the body is Christ's' (Col. ii. 17). In this sense it passes over into Christianity ; and Christian people, as being the true Israel, are all to be spiritually circumcised, dedicated to God, and sanctified for His service. And all that is involved in circumcision, both for the Jew and the Christian, we owe ultimately to Egypt.

III

THE SABBATH

NEXT to circumcision, the observance of the Sabbath as a day of rest and worship was the most distinctive characteristic of the Jewish religion. There is no indication that the Sabbath was observed by the Patriarchs, nor by the people generally before the Exodus. The earliest version of the command is that given by J in the Book of the Covenant (Exod. xxiii. 12): 'Six days thou shalt do thy work, and on the seventh day thou shalt rest; that thine ox and thine ass may have rest, and the son of thy handmaid, and the stranger, may be refreshed.' But in his account of the giving of the manna (Exod. xvi. 25–30) he assumes that the command had been already promulgated before the people reached Sinai: 'And Jehovah said to Moses, How long refuse ye to keep My commandments and My laws? See, for that Jehovah hath given you the Sabbath, therefore He giveth you on the sixth day the bread of two days.' In the version of the Ten Commandments in Exod. xx. the fourth commandment runs: 'Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy'; and the choice of the seventh day is said to be in memory of the seventh-day rest of God after the work of creation, which evidently depends on P's account in Gen. ii. 1–3. In D's version (Deut. v. 12) the command is, 'Observe the Sabbath day to keep it holy, as Jehovah thy God commanded thee'; and the reason given is that they

might remember their deliverance from the bondage of Egypt, and so show consideration for their own cattle and servants by allowing them to rest. Probably the original form of the command was, 'Observe the Sabbath day, to keep it holy'; and the reasons were added later by the respective writers. P tells the story of the man who was stoned to death in the wilderness for gathering sticks on the Sabbath (Num. xv. 32); but, apart from this, there is no further mention of the Sabbath until 2 Kings iv. 23, where it is coupled with the new moon as an appropriate day for consulting the prophet. There can be no reason to question the Mosaic origin of the command, but its importance was only gradually realized, and it was not until after the Exile that the Sabbath was fully recognized as the sign of God's covenant with His people, and definite regulations were drawn up for its due observance.

The evidence for the Babylonian origin of the Sabbath has been fully stated by Sayce, but is far from conclusive. The seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first, and twenty-eighth days of the month were certainly observed; but they were regarded, not as days of rest and joy, but as 'evil days,' on which it was unlucky to undertake any important business. The Sumerian word *Sapattu*, which appears to mean 'heart-rest' or 'mid-rest,' was not used of these days, but of the fifteenth day of the month, when the moon was at the full and rested in the midst of its monthly changes; and it is philologically very doubtful whether the Hebrew *Shabbath* has anything to do with *Sapattu*. It has been suggested that Abraham brought with

him from Ur of the Chaldees the knowledge of this weekly cycle; but there is no hint that either he or his descendants observed it until the time of Moses.

There is even less evidence to connect the Sabbath with any Egyptian practice. There is no indication that the Egyptians observed the seventh day of the week as a day of rest, or that it was recognized at all in their calendar of festivals. Until further evidence is forthcoming, we must attribute to the divine revelation to Moses the establishment of the Sabbath as a day of rest from labour, and as a sign of the covenant relation between Jehovah and His chosen people.

In the earlier historical and prophetic books the new moon is closely associated with the Sabbath. In 2 Kings iv. 23 her husband asks his wife, 'Wherefore wilt thou go to him' (i.e. the prophet) 'to-day? It is neither new moon nor Sabbath.' Amos (viii. 5) represents the rich men as asking, 'When will the new moon be gone, that we may sell corn? and the Sabbath, that we may set forth wheat?' In Hosea (ii. 11) Jehovah threatens, 'I will also cause all her mirth to cease, her feasts, her new moons, and her Sabbaths.' Isaiah (i. 13) associates 'new moon and Sabbath' as vain observances apart from moral conduct. From 1 Sam. xx. 5, 26 we learn that a special religious feast was held in Saul's court at the new moon, from attendance at which only ceremonial uncleanness could excuse any one; and that yearly family sacrifices were offered in Bethlehem on that day. The first two strophes of

Ps. lxxxi. allude to the festivals of the new moon and the full moon:

Sing to God in cheerful lays!
Shout the God of Jacob's praise!
Sound the timbrel, strike the lyre,
Harp and horn and song conspire
In the new moon's crescent rays!

When the full moon from the East
Pours her light, we keep the feast;
Thus did Jacob's God command
When from Egypt by His hand
Joseph's offspring He released.

St. Paul also (Col. ii. 16) says, 'Let no man, therefore, judge you . . . in respect of a feast day or a new moon or a Sabbath day.' All this indicates that the seven-day period was chosen in harmony with the successive phases of the moon. Next to day and night, the month is the most natural measure of time; for any one can reckon the interval between one new moon and the next without any special astronomical knowledge, especially in a land of cloudless skies like Egypt. A lunar month is twenty-nine and a half days; and, as the new moon was a special festival, there were twenty-eight days left, which were naturally divided into periods of seven days, corresponding to the four phases of the moon. The difficulty of synchronizing the twelve lunar months with the solar year would not occur until more accurate astronomical knowledge revealed the discrepancy. It is possible, too, that one of the seven then known planets (including the sun and the moon) was associated with each day of the week, as the names that we still use for them indicate; this was

probably the origin of the Babylonian week; but neither the Hebrews nor the Egyptians used such names, preferring to speak of the first, second, or third day of the week, and so on.

In conclusion, we may confidently affirm that, whatever may have been its ultimate origin, the Sabbath 'assumed among the Hebrews a new character, being stripped of its superstitious and heathen associations, and being made subservient to ethical and religious ends' (Driver in *H.B.D.*, iv. 319). Indeed, one can say that the uniqueness of Jehovah and the institution of the Sabbath were the most original contributions of Moses to the religious development of mankind. Yes, we know that in this law 'God hath spoken unto Moses.' But it should be noted that in the form which it takes in J and in D it is indebted to Egypt, inasmuch as it is a protest against the unrelieved labour which Israel endured there: 'Thou shalt remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt; therefore Jehovah thy God commanded thee to keep the Sabbath day' (Deut. v. 15).

IV

THE DECALOGUE

THE 'Ten Words' have been preserved for us in two recensions—the one in Exod. xx., the other in Deut. v. A comparison of these seems to indicate that in their first form, as recorded on the tablets of stone, or hardened clay, preserved in the Ark, they were all expressed in brief commands, such as we have in the sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth; and that the comments and explanations in the second, third, fourth, fifth, and tenth were added later by way of elucidation. As we have seen, the first, second, and fourth commands are so far indebted to Egypt as they are protests against Egyptian polytheism, Egyptian image-worship, and Egyptian unremitting labour. The rest are statements of fundamental moral laws, such as lie at the foundation of all civilized society, and they were all recognized by the Egyptians long before the time of Moses, though they may not have been any better observed than they are to-day. Unfortunately, no code of Egyptian laws has come down to us; but in the two versions of the *Negative Confession* in the *Book of the Dead* (chap. cxxv.) as well as in the *Precepts of Ptah-hetep*, the *Maxims of Ani*, and other minor documents, the moral principles accepted by the Egyptians are clearly set forth; and by a comparison with these it will be seen that each of the Ten Words, except the first, second, and fourth, is anticipated in them.

The third commandment, 'Thou shalt not take the name of Jehovah thy God in vain,' or, as it may be better rendered, 'for falsehood,' is a prohibition of perjury. Oaths were taken amongst the Egyptians to authenticate contracts, and to confirm testimony. Important contracts were usually made at a temple and in the presence of the priests; and this implied a promise on oath that the contract should be carried out. We have hardly any records of judicial proceedings; but in the famous trial of the tomb-robbers in the reign of Rameses IX it is stated that Paser, the prince of the town, 'swore ten oaths' that he would bring the criminals to justice. In Gen. xlii. 15 Joseph swears 'by the life of Pharaoh,' Pharaoh being regarded as the incarnation of Ra. Diodorus says that the punishment for perjury was death; but it was generally believed that the god upon whom the oath was taken would avenge his own honour on its violator, and would 'not hold him guiltless who took his name for falsehood.'

6 The fifth commandment finds many Egyptian parallels. In the *Prisse Papyrus* it occurs in almost the same form: 'The son who hearkens to the word of his father, he shall grow old thereby.' *Ani* says, 'Place water before thy father and thy mother who rest in their tombs.' And again, 'I gave thee thy mother who bore thee, and in bearing thee she took upon herself a great burden. When thou wast born, she placed herself under a yoke; for three years she suckled thee. Do nothing whatsoever that will cause her to suffer, lest she lift up her hands to God and He hear her complaint.'

For the sixth commandment we may compare the soul's self-justification in the *Negative Confession*: 'I have not committed murder. I have not ordered any man to commit murder for me.' And in the soul's address to the fifth of the gods of judgement he protests, 'I have not slain man or woman.'

The seventh commandment finds a parallel in the *Negative Confession*: 'I have not committed fornication.' *Ptah-hetep* exhorts, 'In any place that thou enterest beware of approaching to women; no place in which that is done prospereth.' *Ani* says, 'Follow not after a woman, and allow not that she occupy thy heart.' And again, 'The woman whose husband is afar writeth to thee daily; when none is there to see, she standeth and spreadeth her snare; sin unto death it is to hearken thereto, even when she shall not have accomplished her plan in reality. Men do all crimes for this alone.' In the later version of the *Confession* the soul protests, 'I have not committed adultery with another man's wife. I have not been impure.'

The eighth commandment is recognized both in general and particular terms. Thus in the *Confession* (later version) we have, 'I have not robbed. I have not been a pilferer. I have not stolen.' In detail the soul declares, 'I have not added to nor diminished the measures of grain. I have not falsified the cubit of land, I have not added to the weight of the balance.'

The ninth commandment is similarly anticipated. In the *Confession* the soul protests, 'I have not lied.' And again, 'I have not borne false witness. I live upon truth; I feed upon truth.' In the Litany in the

papyrus of *Ani* the response to each petition runs, 'I am just and true; I have not spoken lies wittingly, nor have I done aught with deceit.'

The tenth commandment is acknowledged in the *Confession* (later version): 'I have not been covetous.' And *Ani* advises, 'Fill not thy heart with the things of another; beware of this. For thy own sake go not near the things of another, unless he shows them himself in thy house.' So exhorts *Ptah-hetep*, 'Beware of any covetous aim. That is as the painful disease of colic. He who entereth on it is not successful. It is a thing that taketh to itself all evils, a bundle of all wickedness. A covetous man hath no house.'

The divine revelation to Moses did not therefore create any new duties in regard to social conduct; but it did lead the great lawgiver to select out of the forty-two repudiations of the *Confession* just those which are fundamental, and essential to social well-being; the proof of his inspiration is found in the universal recognition of the Decalogue in all ordered human societies, and its adoption, not only by the Jews, but by all the sections of the Christian Church. It is the codification of those universal laws, written, as St. Paul says (Rom. ii. 14, 15), in the heart and conscience of all men.

V

THE GREAT FESTIVALS

In the Book of the Covenant (Exod. xxi.–xxiii.) and in the so-called Little Covenant (Exod. xxxiv. 10–26) three annual feasts are prescribed—the Feast of Unleavened Bread, with which is associated the Feast of the Passover, in commemoration of the deliverance from Egypt; the Feast of Harvest, or Weeks; and the Feast of Ingathering, or Booths, which later received a commemorative significance, 'that your generations may know that I made the children of Israel to dwell in booths when I brought them out of the land of Egypt' (Lev. xxiii. 43). At each of these feasts all the males were to appear before Jehovah. The Passover, followed immediately by the Feast of Unleavened Bread, was to be held on the fourteenth day of Abib (or, as it was called later, Nisan); the Feast of Harvest seven weeks later; and the Feast of Booths 'at the end of the year.' Now Egypt was, *par excellence*, the land of festivals; no fewer than 1,500 such celebrations are mentioned in the records. Most of these were local festivals in honour of the god of the town or nome, but there were some of national significance, in the observance of which the whole country took part. Some of them celebrated important national events, such as the repelling of the Troglodytes and the final defeat of the Nubians; others were in honour of

the universally acknowledged gods, like Ra of Heliopolis, and Osiris ; others had to do with the rising and falling of the Nile ; and others, like that of Min, were harvest thanksgivings. To them people flocked from all over the country ; processions were held, with all sorts of splendid pageantry ; numberless sacrifices were offered, and the bodies of the victims provided the feasts in which all took their share. Maspero (*Dawn of Civilization*, p. 322) describes the scene thus : ' The festivals of the living gods attracted considerable crowds, who came, not only from the nearest nomes, but also from great distances, in caravans and boats laden with merchandise, for religious sentiment did not exclude commercial interests, and the pilgrimage ended in a fair. For several days the people occupied themselves solely in prayers, sacrifices, and processions, in which the faithful, clad in white, with palms in their hands, chanted hymns as they escorted the priests on their way. The gods of heaven exclaim " Ah ! Ah ! " in satisfaction, the inhabitants of the earth are full of gladness, the Hathors beat their tabors, the great ladies wave their mystic whips, all those who are gathered together in the town are drunk with wine and crowned with flowers ; the tradespeople of the place walk joyously about, their heads scented with perfumed oils ; all the children rejoice in honour of the goddess, from the rising to the setting of the sun.' Such scenes as this were familiar to Moses and the Hebrews ; and he cannot fail to have realized the value of these gatherings in promoting the sense of national unity and the observance of the national religion. There could be

no place in his scheme for festivals in honour of local gods; though the Egyptians had gods many and lords many, to him there was but one God, Jehovah; and he exhorts the people, 'Make no mention of the name of other gods, neither let it be heard out of thy mouth' (Exod. xxiii. 13). All the feasts he prescribed were to be kept in honour of 'Jehovah thy God.'

The chief of the Hebrew festivals was the Passover. From the most ancient period festivals were held in Egypt to commemorate the victories of the Egyptians against the older inhabitants of the country and the founding of the empire; and the deliverance of Israel from bondage, and their birthday as a nation, obviously called for recognition. 'It is a night to be much observed unto Jehovah,' says the priestly historian (Exod. xii. 42), 'for bringing them out from the land of Egypt; this is the night of Jehovah, to be much observed of all the children of Israel throughout their generations.' The leading rite of the feast was the sacrifice of the Paschal lamb; at first there can be little doubt that the lamb was a firstling of the flock, and its sacrifice was a recognition of the claim made by Jehovah that all the first-born, whether of man or beast, belonged to Him; and a reminder of the judgement of Jehovah on the Egyptians when 'He smote all the first-born in the land of Egypt, both man and beast.' From that day to this the Passover has been celebrated, not only on Mount Gerizim, where still the seven Paschal lambs are slain by the Samaritans, but wherever the members of the Christian Israel meet at the Lord's table to

remind themselves how 'Christ our Passover,' the first-born of all creation, 'hath been sacrificed for us' (1 Cor. v. 7); wherefore we keep the feast 'with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth.' This is surely the most precious jewel of which Israel 'spoiled the Egyptians.'

Closely associated with the Passover was the Feast of Massoth, or Unleavened Bread, which occupied the next seven days. It was an agricultural festival, and marked the beginning of the barley harvest, of which the first sheaf was waved before Jehovah 'on the morrow after the Sabbath'; that is, on the sixteenth of Abib. Seven weeks later, i.e. on the fiftieth day after the Massoth Feast, came the Feast of Weeks, or, as the Greeks called it, the Pentecost; this celebrated the end of the wheat harvest, and the first two loaves made from the new wheat were solemnly presented to Jehovah; and it is not without significance that it was on the day of Pentecost that the first-fruits of the Christian harvest-field were gathered into the Church. Finally came the Feast of Ingathering, or Booths, which was a thanksgiving for what 'thou hast gathered in from thy threshing-floor and thy winepress' (Deut. xvi. 13).

Now such agricultural festivals are common all over the world, and were by no means limited to Egypt; but it was probably from the Egyptian practice that Moses derived these Hebrew feasts. They were periods of feasting and gladness, of sacred processions, of song and dance, and of pilgrimages from all parts of the land; and all these features were preserved in the Jewish

celebrations. Such a festal procession is described in the sixty-eighth Psalm :

> Thy processions, O Lord, up the Temple-hill wind,
> The singers before, the musicians behind ;
> Between them the damsels with timbrels advance ;
> Little Benjamin next, with his conquering lance ;
> The princes of Judah then crowd into view,
> With Zebulon's leaders and Naphtali's too.
> In the solemn assembly O bless ye the Lord !
> Let the Fountain of Israel's strength be adored !

The people ' rejoiced before Jehovah their God ' ; and it would be hard to exaggerate the happy effect of these gatherings on the national life of Israel.

VI

THE CIVIL CODE

The primitive Civil Code of the Hebrews is found in the Book of the Covenant, contained in Exod. xxi.–xxiii. The discovery of the Code of Hammurabi in 1902 aroused much interest, and there was at first a tendency to find in it the prototype and model of the Mosaic legislation. More exact study has, however, gone to show that, whilst some of its provisions have analogies with the Hebrew Code, there is little evidence that there is any direct connexion between the two. Thus Grimme (*Das Gesetz Chammurabis und Moses*, pp. 36–43) says: 'Numerous cases which the Book of the Covenant handles are wanting in the Code of Hammurabi; frequently both deal with the same case, but with different results. Direct influence of the Code upon Mosaic penal law must be held to be out of the question.' Similarly, H. P. Smith (*Old Test. Hist.*, p. 174) says of the Book of the Covenant: 'Its simplicity when compared with the Code of Hammurabi confirms its independence. The points of resemblance, some of which are striking, are features common to Oriental society.' Stanley Cook, in his exhaustive work on the subject, concludes: 'The evidence does not suggest that Israelite legislation was to any considerable extent indebted to Babylonia.' It seems *a priori* far more likely that Moses would adapt the legal principles and procedure with which he and his people had

become familiar in Egypt, to the new conditions with which he was faced, than that he should have had recourse to a Babylonian Code, of which there is no proof that he knew anything. Unfortunately, no Egyptian code of laws has been preserved, so that a detailed comparison is not possible. There are, however, some significant analogies between the Book of the Covenant and what we know of Egyptian law, which go to indicate a connexion between the two. Thus all Egyptian law was traced back to a primitive code set forth in the earliest days by the god Thoth, and thus had divine authority behind it ; just as all the Mosaic precepts depended upon the word of Jehovah. The Pharaoh was the supreme fountain of justice, and, though he appointed officers, generally of the priestly class, to act in his name, the final decision lay with him. He both interpreted the law and assigned the penalty to be inflicted in each case, either personally or through his officers. So we learn from E (Exod. xviii. 14 ff.) that Moses at first , sat to judge the people '—' When they have a matter,' he says to Jethro, ' they come unto me ; and I judge between a man and his neighbour, and I make them know the statutes of God and His laws '— but that on his father-in-law's advice ' he chose able men out of all Israel . . . and they judged the people at all seasons ; the hard causes they brought unto Moses, but every small matter they judged themselves.' Consequently, in the Book of the Covenant the litigants ' come before Elohim ' and take the oath of Jehovah ; it is Elohim who condemns or acquits them ; and when the penalty is not definitely fixed, it is determined by

the judges (Exod. xxi. 22). This is precisely the Egyptian conception.

Beside the parallels already noted in the case of the Ten Words, the following further analogies may be considered :

Exod. xxi. 8 ff. prescribes generous treatment of a female slave who has been taken into her master's favour and subsequently repudiated. *Ptah-hetep* says, ' If thou makest a woman ashamed, wanton of heart, whom her fellow townsmen know to be in an ambiguous position, be kind to her for a season, send her not away, let her have food to eat.'

Exod. xxi. 15 : ' He that smiteth his father or his mother shall be surely put to death.' *Kagemni* condemns the man ' who is rude to his mother ' ; and a later precept runs, ' Make it not in the heart of thy mother to enter into bitterness.'

Exod. xxi. 19 forbids unnatural crime, under the penalty of death. In the *Negative Confession* the soul protests, ' I have not been given to unnatural lust.'

In the Book of the Covenant (Exod. xxi. 2–5, 20, 26) provision is made for the humane treatment of slaves. In the *Negative Confession* it is claimed, ' I have not caused a slave to be ill-treated by his overseer ' ; and again, ' I have not oppressed those beneath me ' ; and once more, ' I have not made a man do more than his day's work.'

Exod. xxii. 22 : ' Ye shall not afflict any widow or fatherless child.' The *Negative Confession* says, ' I have not taken milk from the mouths of children.'

Exod. xxiii. 6 : ' Thou shalt not wrest the judgement

of the poor in his cause.' *Ptah-hetep* advises, 'If thou actest upon the council, do not tend to favour one side. Turn thine aim unto an even balance.' And again, 'If thou findest . . . a poor man, not thine equal, let not thine heart leap out upon him when he is feeble.' The *Negative Confession* says, 'I have not oppressed those beneath me.'

The remarkable command in Exod. xxiii. 19, repeated in the Little Covenant and in Deuteronomy, 'Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk,' finds a striking parallel in the *Negative Confession* : 'I have not caught fish with bait made of fish of their kind.'

Exod. xxii. 28 : 'Thou shalt not revile God nor curse a ruler of thy people.' In the *Negative Confession* the soul declares, 'I have not cursed God,' and 'I have not cursed the king.'

Exod. xxii. 29 : 'Thou shalt not delay to offer of the abundance of thy fruits and of thy liquors.' The *Negative Confession* says, 'I have not diminished the offerings of the gods. I have not defrauded the cycle of the gods of their choice meats.'

Exod. xxiii. 14 prescribes the three annual feasts. *Ani* exhorts, 'Make the feast of thy god, renew it in its season ; it irritates God to neglect it.'

These coincidences suggest that, if we had fuller knowledge of Egyptian laws and usages, we might find many more ; but these are enough to show that, in his legislation, Moses was not without some obligation to the people amongst whom he had lived so long.

VII

WORSHIP AND RITUAL

1. The Ark of the Covenant

The Ark is the most ancient of the religious symbols of the Hebrews. J informs us (Num. x. 33) that, when they left Sinai, 'the Ark of the Covenant of Jehovah went before them three days' journey, to seek out a resting-place for them. . . . And it came to pass, when the Ark set forward, that Moses said, Rise up, O Jehovah, and let Thine enemies be scattered; and let them that hate Thee flee before Thee. And when it rested, he said, Return, O Jehovah, unto the ten thousands of the thousands of Israel.' And the same editor tells us (Num. xiv. 44) that when the people presumptuously invaded the mountain country after the return of the spies, 'The Ark of the Covenant of Jehovah, and Moses, departed not out of the camp.' It was thus the symbol of the presence of Jehovah amongst His people. According to Deut. x. 1, it was made by Moses to receive the two tables of the Law which were given to him after the first two had been broken. According to P, it was a chest or box of acacia wood, measuring about $3\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$ ft., overlaid with gold, with a covering of gold on the top; there were two rings on each side of it, through which staves could be put for its convenient carriage. On each side of the covering, or mercy-seat, was a cherubic figure

with outspread wings (Exod. xxv. 10 ff.). No doubt P described it as it was in the Temple; it may be questioned whether the cherubim were placed in position until the Ark received its permanent resting-place in Shiloh. Borne on the shoulders of the priests, it preceded the people when they crossed the Jordan; it headed the procession round the walls of Jericho; it was present at the solemn covenant made by Joshua at Mount Gerizim; it appears to have been housed first at Bethel (Judges xx. 27), and then at the sanctuary at Shiloh. It was captured by the Philistines when they took and destroyed the sanctuary; and, after they had returned it, it was placed for a time in the house of Abinadab at Kiriath-Jearim, then lodged in the house of Obed-Edom the Gittite, and was brought thence by David and restored to its proper place in the tabernacle on Mount Moriah, where it remained until it was transferred to the Holy of Holies in Solomon's Temple. It was finally destroyed by the Babylonians when they took Jerusalem, and was never replaced.

It is plain that Moses felt the need of some local and material symbol of the presence of Jehovah in the camp. No graven image was permissible, and he had already rebuked with severity the attempt to represent Jehovah under the familiar Egyptian image of a bull. Something was needed which would not be in any sense an image of Jehovah, but which nevertheless would indicate His presence and the place where worship could be acceptably offered to Him. Such a symbol Moses found ready to his hand in the sacred ark which was kept in the innermost shrine of the

Egyptian temple, and carried in procession on the shoulders of the priests at the great festivals of the god. As Sir Flinders Petrie says (*Ency. Rel. and Ethics*, i. 726), 'the central object of devotion was the sacred bark. This was a boat about 8 ft. in length. Upon the boat there stood a canopy or catafalque; and from this was suspended the square shrine of the god, hung by ropes, and kept from swaying by guide ties at the bottom. Some shrines had a winged figure of Maat, the goddess of truth, at each end, embracing the shrine with her wings. Such seems to be the prototype of the winged cherubs on the Jewish Ark.' Again he says (l.c., p. 862), 'The boat was probably made of wood, plated over with sheets of electrum or gold. The extent to which gold was used is hardly credible to us, who see only an excessively thin film used for gilding.' The sacred ark of Amon-Ra at Karnak is figured in Erman's *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 276. It is carried by staves on the shoulders of twenty-four priests; and the shrine under the canopy is about 3 ft. square, and shows the winged cherubs on either side. A small image of Ra is seen within the shrine. Moses discarded the boat, which represented the bark on which the sun-god traversed the heavens daily, and its crew of minor deities; and for the image of Ra he substituted the two tables of the Covenant, or Testimony, which could not be mistaken for an image of Jehovah, but which symbolized His spiritual presence in His revealed Word. In its shape and material the Ark followed its Egyptian model, as well as in the arrangements for its transport. The veil behind which

it was concealed from the public gaze, and even the 'crown of gold' round its upper rim, were copied from its Egyptian prototype.

2. The Tent of Meeting

From E's account in Exod. xxxiii. 7 ff. it may be inferred that the Ark during the wilderness-wanderings of Israel was housed in a tent, which Moses pitched 'without the camp, afar off from the camp.' There he entered to commune with Jehovah; and thither the people resorted to receive his instructions and judgements, and to worship. Here Moses assembled the seventy elders, in order that the spirit of Jehovah might be imparted to them (Num. xi. 16); and from what is said of Eldad and Medad it is plain that the Tent was outside the camp. Here Miriam was smitten with leprosy (Num. xii. 4); and here Moses gave his final charge to Joshua (Deut. xxxi. 14). The Tent was probably divided into two by a curtain; in the inner part the Ark was kept; the outer was furnished with a lampstand and a table; for the Tent was the dwelling of Jehovah, and needed artificial light and a table on which offerings of food were regularly placed. The Egyptian temple was originally of this type, and it was preserved in its essence even in the elaborate structures of later times. It is generally agreed that the altar of incense was not part of the original furniture of the tabernacle, and that there was no such altar either in Solomon's or Ezekiel's Temple. Incense was offered in censers, as we see from the story of

Korah's rebellion in Num. xvi. 16 ; and this is in accordance with Egyptian practice ; the Egyptians never burnt incense on an altar, but always in a metal censer held in the hand. In fact, the Tent of Meeting, both in its structure and its furnishing, was exactly modelled on the simplest form of an Egyptian temple. The elaborate tabernacle described by P in the later chapters of Exodus is an ideal, which was never realized until the building of the great Temple of Solomon on Mount Moriah, of which more anon.

3. The Priesthood

The construction of the Ark and its housing in the Tent of Meeting necessitated the appointment of certain persons to act as guardians of the shrine. Their duties would be in the first instance to take down the Tent and carry the Ark when the camp was moved, and to repitch the Tent and replace the Ark when a new encampment was reached (Num. i. 50) ; to attend to the lighting of the lamp and the provision of loaves for the table ; and to guard the Tent from the approach of unauthorized persons. But their most important function was to declare the will of Jehovah to those who came to consult the oracle, and to decide the various cases which were brought before Him for an authoritative judgement (Exod. xxxiii. 7). The offering of sacrifices, which in later times became so prominent a part of the priestly duties, was quite secondary during the wilderness period ; indeed Amos (v. 25) asks, 'Did ye bring unto me sacrifices and

offerings in the wilderness forty years?' and Jeremiah (vii. 22) expressly affirms, 'I spake not unto your fathers, nor commanded them in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt offerings or sacrifices.' At the same time, it must not be forgotten that directions are given in the earliest code for the construction of altars (Exod. xx. 24); the Passover sacrifice was instituted at the time of the Exodus, and Moses offered 'burnt offerings and peace offerings of oxen' in connexion with the confirmation of the Covenant (Exod. xxiv. 3), though the actual sacrifices were performed, not by the priests, but by 'young men of the children of Israel.'

In making regulations for the priesthood it would seem probable, if not inevitable, that Moses would take as his model the constitution of the priesthood as he had known it during his forty years' residence at the Court of Egypt. Though we are dependent for most of our knowledge of the priesthood in Israel upon the document known as P, which took its present form in the time of Ezra, it must be remembered that, while it is a codification of the law as it was then practised, it contained as its very core the original legislation of Moses; just as, in our current codifications of Methodist Law, the fundamental principles are those established by Wesley, though in successive editions they have necessarily been brought up to date by the inclusion of resolutions of Conference passed from time to time to meet new conditions. It is not easy to discriminate in every case between the older and more recent regulations, but from the study of the history and the

pre-exilic documents like J and E, and from the evidence in the earlier Prophets, we can safely conclude that, as Binns says in his recent commentary on Numbers, 'laws actually given or collected by Moses formed the nucleus of the whole composition.'

1. *The Personnel of the Priesthood.*—In Egypt the king was always recognized as the head of the priestly order, and performed on occasion all the functions of a priest. He was the official builder of the temples, he presided at the festivals of the gods, he offered sacrifices to them, and the appointment of local high priests as his delegates rested entirely in his hands. He was also the supreme fountain of justice, and the decisions of the courts were given in his name and by his authority. Now Moses from the first assumed a similar position. It was he who received the communications of the will of Jehovah at the Tent of Meeting, and made them known to the people (Exod. xxxiii. 7–11) ; he officiated at the solemn confirmation of the Covenant between Jehovah and Israel, and sprinkled the blood of the sacrifice on the book and the people (Exod. xxiv. 4–8) ; he selected the tribe of Levi and set its members apart for the priestly office (Exod. xxxii. 26 ff.). Though Aaron is technically the High Priest it was at the suggestion of Moses that he was appointed as his spokesman (Exod. iv. 10 ff.) ; 'He shall be to thee a mouth, and thou shalt be to him as God,' says Jehovah on that occasion ; and though he is constantly associated with Moses, he is always secondary to the great leader, and appears in a humiliating position both in connexion with the

calf-worship at Sinai, and in the incident recorded in Num. xii., where he and Miriam ventured to criticize Moses in regard to his marriage, and were sternly rebuked by Jehovah for their presumption. There is no need, however, to labour this point; throughout the wilderness period it is clear that Moses was not only the political leader, but also the head of the religious organization of Israel. This tradition that the head of the State was also *ex officio* the head of the Church persisted after the death of Moses. Joshua, though not a Levite, inherited the priestly functions of his predecessor: 'As I was with Moses,' says Jehovah, 'so I will be with thee'; consequently he receives and communicates the divine will; he commands the priests as to their duties at the crossing of the Jordan and the capture of Jericho; he builds an altar and offers sacrifices at Mount Ebal (Joshua viii. 30), and before his death he gathers the people together and solemnly confirms their covenant with Jehovah. Samuel, though an Ephraimite, exercised the priestly functions of sacrifice and religious headship; Saul offered sacrifice and built an altar unto Jehovah, David transferred the tabernacle to Jerusalem, offered sacrifices, and led the sacred dance before Jehovah, wearing the priestly ephod; and he appointed his sons and Ira the Jairite to be priests; and Solomon in the dedication of the Temple performed all the functions of sacrifice and benediction.

Both David and Solomon appointed and dismissed the High Priests at their pleasure (2 Sam. viii. 17; 1 Kings ii. 26). Jeroboam on his accession to the Northern Kingdom appointed priests, ordained feasts, and

himself sacrificed to the calf which he had set up at Bethel as a visible symbol of Jehovah (1 Kings xii. 31 ff.). Uzziah (Azariah) offered incense in the Holy Place; and though the Chronicler, representing the later custom, according to which only the priests were entitled to do this, condemns the king's action, there is no hint in Kings that his leprosy was sent as a punishment for having discharged this function. Hezekiah appointed 'the courses of the priests and the Levites,' and arranged for the keeping of the Passover (2 Chron. xxxi. 2, xxx.); and Josiah took the lead in the great reformation of the eighteenth year of his reign, renewed the Covenant between Jehovah and the people, and carried out the Passover feast with a solemnity which was without a parallel in the history of Israel (2 Kings xxiii. 21 ff.). Even in Ezekiel's proposed legislation, it was the 'prince's' part to prepare the sin offering and the meal offering and the burnt offering and the peace offerings (Ezek. xlv. 17). Anointing appears to have been a part of the ritual by which the kings were installed in their office; and it is definitely recorded in the cases of Saul, David, Solomon, Jehu, Josiah, and Jehoahaz; indeed the title 'The Lord's Anointed,' so often used of the king, indicates that it was the usual practice. Now anointing was the sign of appointment to the priestly office; it is true that the kings of Egypt were anointed, but it is probable that this was because they were regarded as the high priests of the gods. It may be safely assumed, therefore, that up to the cessation of the kingly office at the Babylonian Captivity, the

Kings of Judah and Israel were *ex officio* priests and the supreme heads of the Church. The Mosaic tradition was thus preserved ; and there can be little doubt that Moses followed Egyptian precedent in this matter.

Again, in assigning the priesthood to the tribe of Levi, Moses adopted the Egyptian custom. In Egypt the priestly office was mainly, though not at first exclusively, hereditary. This was the case as early as the Thirteenth Dynasty ; but it was not until about the Twentieth Dynasty that a rigid rule of heredity was introduced. The Jewish tradition consistently affirmed that Moses selected the tribe of Levi shortly after the Exodus to be the priestly tribe ; and this is borne out by the fact that no tribal territory was assigned to that tribe at the time of the conquest of Palestine. But there are records of men of other tribes being admitted to the priesthood in the earlier days. Thus Joshua, who was an Ephraimite, was put in charge of the Tent of Meeting by Moses (Exod. xxxiii. 11) ; Micah made his own son the priest of his domestic chapel, though he was glad when the opportunity came to engage a Levite for this service (Judges xvii. 5, 13) ; Samuel ministered before Jehovah in Shiloh ' girded with a linen ephod,' though he was an Ephraimite by descent (1 Sam. i. 1) ; Gideon built an altar and offered sacrifice, though he was not of the tribe of Levi (Judges vi. 24) ; and Manoah, a Danite, offered a burnt offering by express divine direction (Judges xiii. 16). Eleazar, the son of Abinadab, was ' sanctified to keep the Ark of Jehovah ' whilst it remained in his father's house (1 Sam. vii. 1), but there

is no indication that he was a Levite ; and Elijah, who came from one of the Transjordanic tribes, offered sacrifice with his own hand (1 Kings xviii. 32). The tendency, as in Egypt, was to limit the priesthood to the tribe of Levi, and, after the Captivity, to the family of Aaron ; but this was not so in the beginning.

In Egypt the priests were divided into four courses, each of which served for a month on end. Some such arrangement was inevitable, and we find a similar division in the Hebrew priesthood. The Chronicler (1 Chron. xxiii. 6) ascribes its origin to David and its reorganization to Hezekiah (2 Chron. xxxi. 17) ; and in P (Num. iii. 17) the same division of the Levites, according to their descent from Gershon, Kohath, and Merari, is attributed to Moses. That Moses did make some such sub-division of the Levites is *a priori* probable ; and it is not certain, though it is not unlikely, that he acted in this on the Egyptian precedent with which he was familiar.

Priestesses were associated with the worship of the gods of Egypt. Their functions were mainly musical, and they sang and danced in the great festivals to the sound of sistra and tabors. In the Old and Middle Kingdoms they are often called prophetesses, especially in relation to the goddesses Hathor and Neith. When, therefore, we find Miriam, the sister of Moses, described as ' the prophetess,' and when it is said (Exod. xv. 20) that ' she took a timbrel in her hand ; and all the women went out after her with timbrels and with dances. And Miriam answered them, Sing ye to Jehovah, for He hath triumphed gloriously ; the horse

and his rider hath He thrown into the sea'—we can hardly fail to see, both in her title and her function, the result of the influence of Egypt. In Exod. xxxviii. 8 P speaks of the 'serving-women which served at the door of the Tent of Meeting'; and in 1 Sam. ii. 22 we find such women associated with the tabernacle at Shiloh in a way that indicates the peril that their employment involved; and it is not surprising that we have no further reference to them in the Old Testament. At the same time, such a passage as Ps. lxviii. 25, 'The singers went before, the minstrels followed after, in the midst of the damsels playing with timbrels,' shows that women still took part in the musical services of the Temple.

The candidate for priesthood in Egypt had not only to prove that he belonged to a priestly family, but also to show that he was free from any bodily defect or deformity. On this point the legislation of P is full and explicit. 'No man that hath a blemish shall come nigh to offer the offerings of Jehovah made by fire' (Lev. xxi. 21); and a list is given of disqualifying infirmities: 'A blind man, or a lame, or he that hath a flat nose, or anything superfluous, or a man that is broken-footed or broken-handed, or crook-backed, or a dwarf, or that hath a blemish in his eye, or is scurvy or scabbed, or hath his stones broken.' This detailed list may have grown gradually, as specific cases presented themselves; and in the legislation of later times it came to embrace no fewer than 142 such defects; but we may be pretty sure that the general demand for freedom from blemishes was made from

the beginning, and the details were added as occasion arose.

Most characteristic of the Egyptian priesthood was the emphasis laid upon purity. The priest had to purify himself for some days before entering on his duties; and before any religious ceremony he had to wash in the sacred tank or pool which was provided in every temple. He was also fumigated with incense in many cases. Great importance was attached to the purification of the hands, and the finger-nails were carefully cut and cleaned; and the mouth was rinsed with natron. From the first the face appears to have been shaved; and about the close of the Eighteenth Dynasty it became customary to shave the head and the whole of the body. So, in the description in P (Exod. xxix. 4) of the consecration of Aaron and his sons, the first part of the ritual runs, 'And Aaron and his sons thou shalt bring unto the door of the Tent of Meeting, and shalt wash them with water.' Amongst the furniture of the tabernacle was 'a laver of brass, between the Tent of Meeting and the altar'; and it is directed, 'Aaron and his sons shall wash their hands and their feet thereat when they go into the Tent of Meeting; they shall wash with water, that they die not' (Exod. xxx. 18). The Psalmist (xxvi. 6) alludes to this practice when he says, 'I will wash my hands in innocency; so will I compass Thine altar, O Jehovah'; which indicates, as this is one of the earlier Psalms, that the washing of the hands before sacrificing was practised long before the promulgation of P's legislation, and was part of the original ritual of the altar.

The priests were prohibited from shaving the head or clipping the beard, because of the association of these customs with idolatrous practices. According to Ezekiel's legislation (xliv. 20), they were not to shave their heads nor suffer their locks to grow long, but they were to ' cut off the hair of their heads ' ; and this appears to have been the Egyptian practice up to the time of the Eighteenth Dynasty. The shaving of the ' head and beard and eyebrows ' is prescribed as part of the ritual for the cleansing of the leper (Lev. xiv. 9). Careful provision was made against the contraction of ceremonial uncleanness by the priests ; not only were they themselves to be free from leprosy or running sores, but if they came into contact with a dead body, or a man suffering from sexual defilement, or any unclean animal, they were directed to bathe their flesh in water, and not to minister in the sanctuary before the evening of the day on which the defilement had been incurred.

4. The Vestments of the Priests

The ordinary dress of the priests is specified in Ezekiel xliv. 17, thus : ' They shall be clothed with linen garments ; and no wool shall come upon them, whiles they minister in the gates of the inner court, and within. They shall have linen tires upon their heads, and shall have linen breeches upon their loins ; they shall not gird themselves with any thing that causeth sweat.' P's regulations agree with this as to the material to be used—linen—and specify coats,

head-tires, breeches, and a girdle. In hardly anything is there more conservatism than in ecclesiastical vestments; and we may be fairly sure that the priests' costume in the time of Ezekiel and Ezra was essentially that which had been in use from the first. The exclusive use of linen was derived by Moses from the Egyptian practice, and was due, as Ezekiel implies, to the emphasis they laid upon bodily cleanness. The material of the dress of the Egyptian priests was linen, and they were not allowed to enter a temple wearing any woollen garment, nor to wear woollen underclothing next the skin. The items of the costume—the outer coat, the bonnet or cap, the breeches or loin-cloth, and the girdle—can all be matched in the pictures of priests in the Egyptian monuments. It may be inferred from the command given to Moses (Exod. iii. 5) and to Joshua (Joshua v. 15), 'Put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground,' from the absence of any reference to shoes or sandals in the dress of the priests, and from the fact that they had to wash their feet before ministering at the altar (Exod. xxx. 19), that they were barefooted when they officiated; and this was the usual Egyptian custom, except in certain cases where the priests wore special white sandals in the temple. The obvious reason for this was to avoid bringing dust or dirt into the sacred enclosure. Special vestments were prescribed for the High Priest (Exod. xxviii.), namely, 'a breastplate, and an ephod, and a robe, and a robe of checker-work, a mitre, and a girdle.' These no doubt constituted the High Priest's official dress in the

time of Ezra ; but they were derived from the most ancient times, and were probably ordained by Moses in all their essential features. The most important and characteristic of them were the ephod, with the breastplate of judgement, and the robe and girdle of the ephod. The ephod was an oblong piece of fine linen, embroidered with blue, purple, and scarlet threads ; it was wound round the chest and reached to the waist, and was supported by two shoulder-straps clasped by two onyx stones, on each of which was engraved the names of six of the tribes of Israel, and by a girdle of similar material and workmanship. Fastened to the front of it by golden rings and chains was the breastplate of judgement, in which were set twelve precious stones in four rows of three each, engraved with the names of the twelve tribes. That the ephod was of very early origin is shown by the references to it as part of the equipment of a sanctuary in Judges xv. 5, where Micah, soon after the occupation of Canaan by the Israelites, provides an ephod for his private chapel ; in 1 Sam. xxi. 9, xiv. 18 (where the true reading is ' ephod,' not ' the Ark of God '), xxiii. 9, xxx. 7, ii. 28, xiv. 3, and Hos. iii. 4. That it was of Egyptian origin is made very probable by Egyptian pictures, which may be seen in Lipsius (*Denkmäler* iii.), of divine and royal personages having ' a richly decorated garment round the body, supported by two shoulder-straps, fastened at the top by a gem, and secured round the waist by a girdle.' Driver, in article ' Ephod ' in *H.B.D.*, says ' It is possible that the ephod was of Egyptian origin ' ; I think he might safely have

substituted 'probable' for 'possible.' The breastplate of judgement, with its twelve gems, is strikingly illustrated by the picture of Seker-chabau, the High Priest of Memphis, figured in Erman (*Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 298); he is wearing twelve amulets in four rows of three each, suspended by chains round his neck, and resting on his breast; the first and third rows are crosses, the second and fourth circular disks. A similar ornament is found worn by the High Priest as early as the Fourth Dynasty. The fact that in the case of the Hebrew High Priest the gems were mounted or set on a square of fine linen, measuring a span each way, and doubled, does not affect the essential identity of the 'breastplate' with the corresponding Egyptian badge of office. From very early times the ephod and breastplate were used for ascertaining the divine will. In 1 Sam. xiv. 18, according to the Septuagint rendering, which is probably correct, Saul, wishing to find out whether he should engage in battle with the Philistines, 'said to Ahijah, Bring hither the ephod; for he wore the ephod at that time before Israel.' The consultation was cut short by a sudden attack on the part of the Philistines; and when, after the battle, Saul again had recourse to the ephod, no answer was given. The king, inferring that some sin had been committed, once more consulted the oracle to decide who was to blame; and, according to the Greek text of 1 Sam. xiv. 41, which Jerome follows, Saul said, 'If the iniquity be in me or in Jonathan my son, give Urim; and if thou sayest thus, The iniquity is in the people, give Thummim.' There were thus two answers possible,

and their significance was determined beforehand. The way in which the answer was given is not clear. Josephus, followed by Kalisch, implies that the decision was made by the shining or dullness of the gems in the breastplate ; others think that the Urim and Thummim were two stones, or one stone with two sides, or two small images, placed in the fold or pocket made by the doubling of the breastplate. No description is anywhere given of the Urim and Thummim ; and this method of divination is not mentioned in the historical records after the time of David. It has been suggested that Thummim is derived from the name of the Egyptian goddess of truth (Maat or Tme, the Greek Themis), a small image of whom was worn round his neck by the Chief Judge as a badge of office. In the well-known scene of the Weighing of the Heart in the Hall of Judgement, Tme and Horus preside over the weighing ; and I suggest that Urim may be derived from Horus. If this were so, the Urim and Thummim would stand for the two gods of justice and truth, and so would be appropriately attached to the amulets employed in deciding on questions of guilt or innocence. But, in the absence of definite information on the subject, one can only put this suggestion forward as a more or less probable guess. In any case, it seems fairly certain that the ephod and breastplate are of Egyptian origin ; and, therefore, we may reasonably look to Egypt for the ultimate solution of this much-debated question.

The ' robe of the ephod ' was a parallelogram of blue (or violet) linen, woven in one piece, and with a

hole in the centre 'like the hole of a coat of mail,' bound round with woven work to save it from tearing, through which the head was inserted. It was worn under the ephod (Lev. viii. 7), and the edges of it were adorned with a fringe of alternate bells and pomegranates. A precisely similar garment is figured in Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, ii. 321. The bells and pomegranates were, as Petrie thinks, derived from the Egyptian lotus and bud pattern, figured in *H.B.D.* i. 58, and in Petrie's *Egypt and Israel*, p. 62; blue, or rather, violet, was a colour appropriated to royalty, and indicated that the High Priest in Israel held the same position as the Pharaoh in the Egyptian hierarchy. The mitre, or diadem, also indicated the royal dignity of the High Priest. It was probably modelled on the crown of Lower Egypt, but in place of the Uraeus, or sacred cobra, which was attached to the front of the crown, Moses substituted a golden plate with the inscription 'Holy to Jehovah.'

The High Priest was initiated into his office by anointing and by 'filling the hand.' Wilkinson (*Anc. Egyptians*, i. 375) says: 'With the Egyptians, as with the Jews, the investiture to any sacred office, as that of king or priest, was confirmed by this external sign [anointing]; and as the Jewish lawgiver mentions the ceremony of pouring oil upon the head of the High Priest after he had put on his entire dress, with the mitre and crown, the Egyptians represent the anointing of their priests and kings, after they were attired in their full robes, with the cap and crown upon their head. The functionary who officiated was the High Priest.'

Only the Kings and the High Priests were anointed; and this was the original practice amongst the Hebrews (Exod. xxix. 7); though at a later time all the priests were anointed. A special oil was used for this purpose, called 'the sacred oil Ab'; and so, in Exod. xxx. 22, the holy anointing oil is specified as consisting of 500 parts of myrrh and of cassia, and 250 parts each of cinnamon and sweet calamus, compounded with olive oil. And, just as the statues and altars of the gods were anointed in Egypt, so the Hebrew practice was to anoint the Tent of Meeting and all its vessels (Exod. xxx. 26). Now Moses cannot have derived this rite from Babylonia; for, as Jastrow affirms (*Ency. Rel. and Ethics*, i. 557), 'As yet no traces of anointing as a religious rite have been found in Babylonia and Assyria'; hence it can hardly be questioned that he adopted it from his Egyptian experience, and this makes it the more probable that, even where analogies to his legislation are found in the Babylonian records, he was indebted to Egypt for the general lines on which he constituted the priesthood for Israel, as well as for most of the details of his directions. It must not be forgotten that the title of the destined King and Saviour of Israel is the Messiah, that is the Anointed One, the Christ; and so that Name, which is above every name, we owe indirectly to the ancient land of the Pharaohs.

After the vesting and anointing of the priests, a further ceremony is prescribed; 'Thou shalt fill the hand of [R.V. consecrate] Aaron and his sons' (Exod. xxix. 9). That the phrase came to be used in the

general sense of 'consecrate' is clear from such passages as Exod. xxxii. 29, where Moses commands the Levites, 'Fill your hands to-day to Jehovah'; but it must have signified originally some sort of rite, in which something was placed in the hands of the person to be consecrated. What it was is nowhere indicated; but suggestive parallels are to be found in Egyptian practice. Thus, when Nebwenenef was installed by Rameses III as high priest of Amen, he was invested with two gold rings and a gold staff; the chief priestess of Amen of Napata received at her consecration a silver pail for libations, and a silver sistrum; and, at the coronation of the Pharaoh, the most sacred of all Egyptian symbols, the Tau, or sign of life, was placed in his hands by the officiating priest. Various suggestions have been made as to what was placed in the hands of the Hebrew priest; Sellin guesses arrows, to be used in divination; Baudissin and many others a portion of the sacrifice; Wellhausen a coin or ingot as earnest money (cf. the King's shilling given to a recruit). Possibly it was a bowl for pouring the drink-offering, or a knife for slaying the sacrifices. All this, however, is mere conjecture; all that we can say is that the ceremony was analogous to that practised in Egypt on similar occasions.

It is admitted that analogies to the Mosaic priesthood are to be found in other Semitic peoples, and, indeed, amongst many more primitive tribes; but it seems most probable that it was from Egypt, with whose customs both Moses and his people were familiar, rather than from Babylonia or Assyria, of whose

practices there is no likelihood that he knew anything, that the great Hebrew Lawgiver derived the regulations which lay at the root of all subsequent legislation.

5. The Temple

The original shrine of the Ark was, as we have seen, the Tent of Meeting, divided by a curtain into an inner and an outer chamber. After the arrival of Israel in the Promised Land, either the same Tent, or some counterpart of it, was pitched in Shiloh; possibly on the platform which has been discovered at Seilun, and is oriented to the four cardinal points of the compass, north, south, east, and west. In 1 Sam. i. 9 it is called 'the Temple of Jehovah'; but in ii. 22 it has the old name 'the Tent of Meeting'; and that it was still a tent is clear from 2 Sam. vii. 6, where Jehovah says, through Nathan, 'I have not dwelt in an house since the day that I brought up the children of Israel out of Egypt, even to this day, but have walked in a tent and in a tabernacle.' The Philistines destroyed the shrine and captured the Ark in the days of Eli; and, after the Ark had been recovered, it was ultimately placed by David in a shrine on Mount Moriah, which was still not a permanent building, but a tent; 'the Ark of God,' says David (2 Sam. vii. 2), 'dwelleth within curtains.' David planned and Solomon carried out the building of a permanent Temple for Jehovah on the same site; and we have in 1 Kings vi. a description of this Temple by one who had seen it before its destruction by the Chaldaeans. This account may be

supplemented by the idealized tabernacle, projected into the past by the priestly narrative of Exod. xxv. ff.; by Ezekiel's vision of the reconstructed Temple (Ezek. xl. ff.), and by the description of Solomon's Temple in 2 Chron. iii. and iv. But, where these authorities conflict with the author of Kings, we must certainly take his account as the basis of our investigation.

Solomon's Temple, then, was an oblong stone structure, 60 cubits long and 20 cubits broad. It was divided into two chambers; the Holy Place, or *Hekal*, 40 cubits long, 20 cubits wide, and 30 cubits high; and to the west of this the Holy of Holies, or *Debir*, which was a cube of 20 cubits in each dimension. To the east of the Holy Place was a porch, 20 cubits wide and 10 cubits from back to front; its height is not given in Kings, but the Chronicler makes it 120 cubits. Folding doors separated the Holy of Holies from the Holy Place, and the Holy Place from the porch. They took the place of the curtains, or veils, of the Tent of Meeting; but it is possible that the veils were retained and hung over the doors. The whole building was lined with boards of cedar, elaborately carved with figures of cherubim and palm-trees and open flowers; and they were all overlaid with gold. Some of the commentators find it difficult to believe this; but the discovery of the tomb of Tutankhamen has shown how lavish was the use of gold (not merely gilding) in Egyptian ceremonial objects. There were no windows at all in the Holy of Holies; Jehovah made darkness His hiding-place, His pavilion round about Him; in

the Holy Place there were 'windows of fixed lattice-work'; but, as the chambers which were built on the north, south, and west sides of the Temple rose to a height of 20 cubits, the windows must have been high up in the wall, like the clerestory windows in a Gothic cathedral, and would give very little light. In front of the porch stood two brazen pillars, called Jachin and Boaz; they were 18 cubits high and 12 cubits in circumference; they were hollow, and the thickness of the brass was four finger-breadths (Jer. lii. 21). Each was surmounted by a capital of lily-work and pomegranates, 5 cubits high, so that their total height was 23 cubits, or about 35 ft. Within the Holy of Holies was the Ark, overshadowed by two cherubic figures, the wings of which, being each 5 cubits long, extended from side to side of the shrine. Both the Ark and the cherubim were overlaid with gold. In the Holy Place stood the altar of incense, the table for the shewbread, and ten lamp-stands, five on each side, all made of pure gold. In front of the porch was the great brazen altar, which probably stood on the sacred rock, still preserved under the dome of the Mosque of Omar; and in the south-east corner of the outer court was placed the brazen laver, or sea, 10 cubits in diameter and 30 in circumference, with its ten smaller lavers, mounted on bases with wheels. The laver was supported on the shoulders of 12 oxen, three of which faced each of the cardinal points.

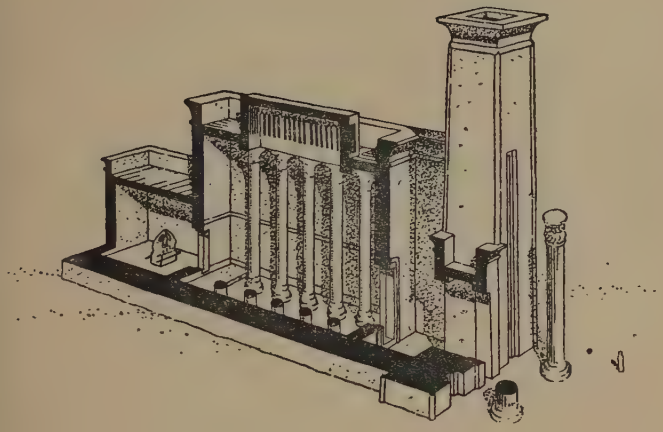
Now there are two types of temple in the ancient Oriental world. The Babylonian temples were built in a pyramidal form, and consisted of a series of

super-imposed cubes, normally seven in number, each of which was dedicated to one of the seven heavenly bodies—the sun and moon and the five planets. The Tower of Babel was such a temple, or *ziggarat*; and numerous examples of this type have been excavated in Mesopotamia during the last century. It is obvious that there is no resemblance between these *ziggarats* and Solomon's Temple. On the other hand, we have the Egyptian type of temple, which at almost every point finds analogies in the building we are considering. The essential feature of every Egyptian temple was the sanctuary, which was located at the end of the axis of the temple, exactly opposite to the main entrance; it was absolutely dark, and contained the sacred Ark, within which was the image of the god. A narrow, low doorway led from the sanctuary into a much larger columned hall (the Hypostyle Hall), dimly lighted by clerestory windows near the roof, which was always higher than the roof of the sanctuary. Obviously we have here the exact counterparts of the Holy of Holies and the Holy Place. Another small door opened from the Hypostyle Hall into a court, usually colonnaded along the sides, but open to the sky in the centre, known as the Hypaethral Court. This corresponds to the porch in Solomon's Temple. It is not stated anywhere that this porch was open to the sky, but it may be inferred from the fact that the author of Kings specifies its length and width, but does not mention its height; which, of course, he could not do if it had no roof. Its length was only 10 cubits from back to front, which is smaller in proportion to

the whole size of the Temple than is usual in Egyptian temples; but this may be accounted for by the limitation of the space at Solomon's disposal. The whole 'House' had to be got in between the Sakhra, or Sacred Rock, under the dome of the Mosque of Omar, on which the great altar stood, and the western edge of the Haram enclosure; and this would not permit of such a large porch, or *pronaos*, as is found in many of the Egyptian temples. The entrance to the Hypaethral Court was by a narrow door between two lofty towers, or pylons. They rose high above the general roof-level of the temple; at Karnak the chief pylon is 146 ft. high; the first pylon at Luxor 76 ft. Now, the Chronicler says that the height of the porch was 120 cubits; taking the cubit as about 18 in., this would make the porch 180 ft. high, which certainly seems improbable. But he gives the height of the two pillars, Jachin and Boaz, as 35 cubits, whereas we know from Kings and Jeremiah that they were each 18 cubits high; it would seem, then, that the Chronicler gave the sum of the heights of the two pillars, and not the height of each of them separately. If he followed the same plan with the two pylons, it would make each of them 90 ft. high, which would be somewhere between the figures for Karnak and Luxor; and by no means unlikely, if the Grand Monarque of Israel were eager to rival the splendours of his Egyptian prototypes, and so to impress his new wife, the daughter of Pharaoh, with his wealth and resources. In most Egyptian temples two tall obelisks stood in front of the pylons; they were monoliths, carved from single

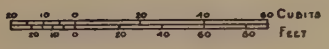
blocks of stone. The difficulty of transporting such monoliths over the rugged mountains of Judaea led Solomon to substitute for them two pillars of brass, which, with their capitals, were each 23 cubits, or about 35 ft. high. The more famous of the Egyptian obelisks range from about 100 to 60 ft. in height; Cleopatra's Needle, now on the Thames Embankment, is 68 ft. 2 in. high; but there were many of less height. In every Egyptian temple, pools or tanks were provided for the ceremonial cleansing of the priests and worshippers; and this purpose was served by Solomon's brazen sea. The interior walls of the Egyptian temples were covered with paintings and sculptures; and, though the Law forbade the use of figures of men or animals, the cedar boards which lined Solomon's Temple were adorned with carvings of 'cherubims and palm-trees and open flowers.' The Temple was not a place in which the people gathered for worship; they could only assemble in the outer court in which the Temple stood. The priests alone could enter the actual building; and the sanctuary could only be opened by the High Priest, or the King in his official capacity as High Priest, and at Heliopolis this only happened once a year. It is hardly necessary to point out how exactly this precedent was followed in the Hebrew Temple.

It has been suggested that Solomon had a Phoenician rather than an Egyptian model in his mind; and much has been made of the fact that he employed Hiram, King of Tyre, in the work. But Hiram was not asked to help in the designing of the Temple; he



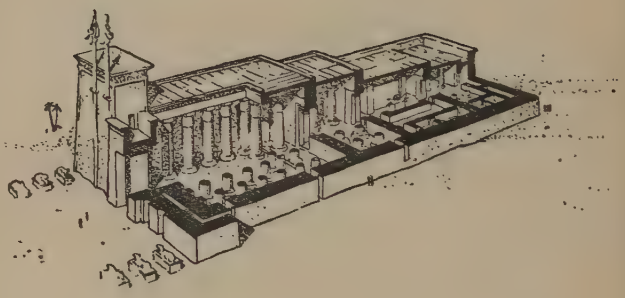
SECTIONAL PERSPECTIVE

PLAN



KING SOLOMON'S TEMPLE.

Drawn by A. J. RALTON, Dip. Arch., Melbourne.



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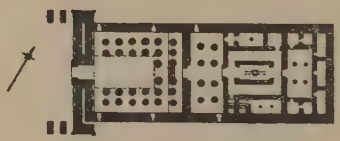

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THE TEMPLE OF KHONS, KARNAK.

Drawn by A. J. RALTON, Dip. Arch., Melbourne.

was definitely requested to furnish timber from Lebanon; and another Hiram, the son of a man of Tyre, was employed in the casting of the brasswork required for the Temple furniture. But there is no suggestion that either the king or his namesake had anything to do with the general plan of the Temple. On the other hand, Solomon had married the daughter of Pharaoh, and probably visited Egypt to make his court to her; and whilst there he would have every opportunity to see the magnificent temples which were the glory of that land. Moreover, it can hardly be doubted that the great pillared hall 'of the forest of Lebanon,' with its porch, the throne-room and the palace and the house which he built for Pharaoh's daughter, were modelled on Egyptian prototypes. When, therefore, we find his Temple corresponding so closely at every point with the temples of Egypt, it is surely unnecessary to look farther for the origin of its design. That important buildings were erected in southern Palestine, during Solomon's reign, in the Egyptian style has been proved by the recent excavations made by Sir Flinders Petrie at Tell Jemmeh, the site of the ancient Gerar. He has uncovered there 'buildings of grand style built of great yellow bricks in a thoroughly Egyptian method of construction, which at latest can be assigned to the time of Shishak.'

The Egyptian temples were not only the shrines of the gods to whom they were dedicated; they were also designed as astronomical observatories, by means of which the exact time of the rising or setting of the heavenly bodies could be determined. It used to be

thought that there was no trace of orientation in the Egyptian temples; indeed, Perrot and Chipiez (*Hist. Anc. Egyptian Art*, 1883) say, 'The first thing that strikes us in looking at a general map of Karnak is that Egyptian temples were not oriented.' But Nissen (*Orientation*, 1906) and Norman Lockyer (*Dawn of Astronomy*, 1894) have independently shown that all the Egyptian temples were oriented, so that the main axis of the temple was directed to the point of the rising or setting either of a star or of the sun on the day on which the annual festival of the god of the temple was celebrated. The sun rises exactly in the east at the spring and autumn equinoxes, and 23½ degrees north and south of east at the summer and winter solstices respectively. Hence temples with their axes pointing in a direction between 23½ degrees north and 23½ degrees south are *solar* temples, and on two days in the year will look exactly to the degree on the horizon of the rising or the setting sun, according as their entrance opens toward the east or the west. If the axes lie outside these limits, they are *stellar* temples, and are directed to the point of rising or setting of the star associated with the god of the temple. Now the construction of the temples was carefully designed to subserve this purpose; as Lockyer points out, 'the long series of halls and courts make an excellent telescope of a sort; the halls, especially those at the farther end, were dark, and the dividing walls were each pierced by a central doorway.' The height of the halls always diminished from front to back, so that a vertical section of a temple is just like the vertical

section of a telescope with three or four draws ; whilst the doors served the same purpose as the diaphragms in a telescope. The axis was perfectly straight, and ran, without any obstruction, from the shrine to the main entrance between the pylons. The fairway to the horizon was always uninterrupted, and no trees or buildings were permitted to block the clear view of the observer. The priest, standing in the darkness of the shrine and looking along the axis, would be able to see perfectly the rising or setting of the sun or star in the clear Egyptian sky, as its rays shot along the axis and illuminated the shrine at its farther extremity.

There is no need for our present purpose to say anything more about the *stellar* or the *solstitial* temples ; for the temple at Jerusalem was oriented due east and west, and was therefore of the *equinoctial* type ; and this is the type found most often in the north of Egypt. But these temples were not only used to determine the exact time of the equinoxes ; they were also employed to impress the worshippers with ' the manifestation of Ra.' The people were assembled in the outer court looking down the axis of the temple into the absolute darkness of the shrine. The shrine was opened, with the image of Ra, covered with gold and gems, facing the entrance. When the first rays of the rising sun shot down the axis, they illuminated the sacred image, and it suddenly became visible in its radiant splendour, and filled the whole inner temple with its glory. The scene is described in one of the inscriptions : after the High Priest has purified himself and offered libations and incense, ' he mounts the steps to the grand shrine, in

order to behold Ra in his sanctuary; he approaches alone; he shoots the bolt and opens the doors; he sees his father Ra in his sanctuary.' It is easy to imagine the effect upon the throng of worshippers of the brilliant manifestation of the god; and the priests would not be slow to take advantage of it to stimulate the faith and devotion of the people. Now the Temple of Solomon was oriented due east and west, the Holy of Holies being at the west end; and from the shrine there was an uninterrupted view of the horizon over the Mount of Olives. Solomon dedicated the Temple 'on the tenth day of the seventh month,' that is, on September 25, the day of the autumnal equinox. The people were gathered in the outer court shortly before sunrise; the priests placed the Ark in the Holy of Holies; 'and it came to pass, when the priests were come out of the Holy Place, that the cloud filled the house of Jehovah, so that the priests could not stand to minister by reason of the cloud; for the glory of Jehovah filled the house of Jehovah' (1 Kings viii. 10). Very significant are the words of Solomon which follow (I adopt Cheyne's reconstruction of the text):

> The sun has Jehovah set in the heavens;
> He Himself has resolved to dwell in thick darkness.

The sun rose and flooded the golden walls of the Holy Place and the Ark and the overshadowing wings of the cherubs; He that dwelt between the cherubim shone forth (Ps. lxxx. 1), and the glory of the God of Israel went up from the cherub, whereupon it was, to the threshold of the House (Ezek. ix. 3).

The same date—the tenth day of the seventh month—was adopted after the Exile as the great Day of Atonement, or Purgation. There is no trace before the Exile of the observance of this rite in the full form described in Lev. xvi. ; but, as Dr. Kennedy suggests, ' the nucleus of the latter rite goes back to an antique ceremony of purgation ' ; and it is probable that in Lev. xvi. 1–10 we have the earliest form of the celebration. There it is stated that, after the death of Nadab and Abihu for offering ' strange fire ' before Jehovah, ' Jehovah said unto Moses, Speak unto Aaron thy brother, that he come not at all times into the Holy Place within the veil, before the mercy-seat which is upon the Ark ; that he die not ; for I will appear in the cloud upon the mercy-seat.' On this one day alone, following Egyptian precedent, the High Priest was to draw aside the veil and enter the Holy of Holies. It may be safely assumed that the ceremony took place at the hour of sunrise ; and, as the veil was drawn aside, the light of the rising sun fell upon the golden wings of the cherubim, and the people standing without saw the brilliant reflection of his rays, and interpreted it as a manifestation of the glory of Jehovah. Hence Jehovah is described as ' He that sitteth between the cherubim ' ; and He promises to Moses, ' I will commune with thee from above the mercy-seat, from between the two cherubim which are upon the Ark of the Testimony (Exod. xxv. 22). There is nothing derogatory to the divine dignity in the use of this natural vehicle for the manifestation of His glory. The thunder is His voice, the lightning is the flashing of His sword ; He maketh

the winds His messengers and a flaming fire His ministers; the God of Israel, says David, 'shall be as the light of the morning, when the sun riseth, a morning without clouds'; Malachi declares, 'Unto you that fear My name shall the sun of righteousness arise with healing in His wings'; and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews speaks of the Son as the effulgence, or outshining, of the glory of God. Why, therefore, should not Moses, familiar as he must have been with the annual manifestation of Ra at the autumnal equinox in Heliopolis, have adopted, under divine suggestion, this most striking and effective method of bringing before the eyes of the Hebrews the glory of Jehovah?

The practice of orientation still survives. The earliest Christian churches were built in imitation of the Temple, with their main axes running east and west, the doors being at the east end and the altar at the west. The modern practice of putting the altar at the east end of the church was of later origin, and seems to have been adopted so that the worshippers might face the east, whence it was expected that Christ would appear at His second coming. But in the beginning it was not so; and the Church of St. Peter at Rome has the main door at the east end. 'So exactly due east and west was the basilica,' says a writer in *The Builder* (January 2, 1892), 'that, on the vernal equinox, the great doors of the quadriporticus were thrown open at sunrise, and also the eastern doors of the church itself; and, as the sun rose, its rays passed through the outer doors, then through the inner doors, and, penetrating straight

through the nave, illuminated the High Altar.' If we are to follow the true ecclesiastical tradition, our churches should be oriented to face the exact point of the sunrise on the day of the saint to whom the church is dedicated. At all events, the altar should be at the west end. But we Methodists shall probably agree with the ninth-century protest against any sort of orientation. 'Nunc oremus,' they said, 'ad omnem partem, quia Deus ubique est' ('Now let us pray towards every quarter, because God is everywhere'). The orientation of our churches is another illustration of the truth of Sayce's statement (*Rel. of Anc. Egypt*, p. 70), 'We are still under the influence of ideas whose first home was in Egypt.'

VIII

THE IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL

In no other nation has the belief in the persistence of human personality after death exercised so great an influence as it did in Egypt. As Wiedemann says (*Rel. Anc. Egyptians*, p. 234), 'For the vast majority of Egyptians of all periods, conviction of a life beyond death was bound up with the worship of Osiris, and on this groundwork they pictured for themselves in detail the fate of soul and body, and developed a doctrine of immortality which in precision and extent surpasses almost any other that has been devised. The scientific importance of the Osirian doctrine arises first from its extreme antiquity—for even in Pyramid times it was complete in all its essential parts—and also for its many points of affinity to Jewish and Christian dogma.' Salmond (*Immortality*, p. 190) says, 'The natural presumption would be that a people who lived for a long time in Egypt, under the influence of a race so dominant, of such attainments in civilization and science, so devoted to religion, and with so large a doctrine of the future life, would carry much away with them when they secured their liberty, and could scarcely fail to take with them some definite conception of a future existence.' This presumption, though Dr. Salmond questions it, is abundantly proved to be justified.

That the Hebrews were brought into contact with this side of the Egyptian belief is clear from the fact

that Jacob's body was embalmed in the orthodox fashion (Gen. l. 2), and then buried with solemn pomp in the cave of Machpelah ; and that Joseph's body was embalmed and put in a coffin in Egypt, and there preserved until the Exodus, when it was taken to Palestine and buried in Shechem (Joshua xxiv. 32). It seems impossible that the presence with them of the mummy of Joseph should not have familiarized the Hebrews with the belief in immortality which lay behind the practice of mummification. It is true that the Egyptian faith in personal survival took various forms. There were many different names for the non-material part of man, and these gave rise to different theories as to what happened to it after death. The *ka*, or double, seems to have been used in the sense of the animal soul, or *psyche* ; it was believed to hover around the mummy, and to need for its continued existence offerings of food and drink, which were duly placed in the tomb. Apparently it needed some material substratum, either the mummy itself, or an image of the deceased man, which it visited from time to time ; and it was anticipated that the mummy would be revivified and reunited with the *ka*, and so the whole man, body and soul, would enter on eternal life. The *ba*, which approximates in meaning to the *pneuma*, or spirit, was conceived as a bird, which on the death of the body flew up to the gods and dwelt for ever with Ra. The Osirian idea, which ultimately became the dominant one, depended on the theory that the dead man became identified with Osiris ; and if his *ab*, or heart, succeeded in passing the tests of the judgement, which were tests of morality

or righteousness, he was admitted to 'the field of Alu,' where he lived in bliss, occupying himself in much the same work and recreation as had made up his life on earth, but under much happier conditions. Probably the average Egyptian had no very clear views as to the distinctions between the *ka*, and the *ba*, and the *ab*, and the *ren*, or name, and the *khoo*, or intelligence; any more than the average Englishman makes any clear distinction between soul, spirit, mind, heart, self, and personality. But he certainly did believe that in some way or other he would survive after the death of the body, and would have to face the judgement in the Hall of Osiris. Survival of the personality and a judgement to come—these were the essential beliefs of all the Egyptians, however they may have differed as to the details. It is incredible that the Hebrews, in their long sojourn in Egypt, should have failed to assimilate these general beliefs.

It is, happily, not necessary for me to examine the teaching of the Old Testament on this point; for my distinguished predecessor in this lectureship, the Rev. J. Dury Geden (the scholarly father of a no less scholarly son), dealt with the whole question in the Fernley Lecture of 1874 in a way that left little to be added or criticized. I am satisfied, therefore, to give his summary, which is as follows: 'The Hebrew Scriptures assume and teach: (1) That the human soul continued to live when the body dies. (2) That the soul at death goes into Sheol, or the invisible world, the descriptions of this world being generally suggestive of gloom and terror. (3) That it is well or ill with men

after death according to the character of their life on earth. (4) That obedience to God's commandments is tantamount to immortality. (5) That God will eventually bring both the quick and the dead into judgement before Him. (6) That by the divine preordination the terminus of human history will be the absolute catastrophe of evil, the complete triumph and ascendancy of the righteous government of God, and the perfect and everlasting bliss of all holy creatures.' With the exception of the last point, which is drawn from the work of the great prophets and belongs to the later development of the Hebrew religion, all these statements can be paralleled from the Egyptian records.

I wish, however, to make two further observations :

(1) It is often objected that, if the Hebrews believed in personal survival after death, there would be many more frequent and explicit references to this doctrine in the Old Testament. In answer to this, it may be pointed out that when any doctrine is universally accepted it is usually taken for granted in the literature of the period, and there are comparatively few references to it ; it is only when it is controverted that it becomes necessary to discuss and prove it. The background of all the Old Testament teaching is the belief in life beyond the grave ; and the infrequency of references to it is an indication that nobody doubted it. Moreover, a large part of the Old Testament is taken up with legislation, with history, and with ethical precepts, and in none of these can we reasonably expect to find definite teaching as to immortality. Thus it would be

impossible to prove from our Australian Methodist Book of Laws that the Methodists believe in existence after death. In its 135 pages I can only find two references to the future life ; and even those might, in the absence of other information, be interpreted as referring to the consequences of sin here and now. I have just read through a very able history of England from the beginning up to the Great War ; it deals incidentally with the Reformation and the Evangelical Revival ; but there is not one sentence in it from which an historian of a thousand years hence could infer that the English people, at any period of their existence, believed in the immortality of the soul. If he made research in our current manuals of ethics, he would be left in equal uncertainty. Apart from text-books of theology (and there are none of these in the Old Testament), it is to our poets and preachers that we have to look for evidence on this point ; and to the lyric strains of the psalmists and prophets we must turn for indications of the faith of the Hebrews in a future life. These are neither few nor indecisive ; and there is no need here to add to the collection of such passages in Mr. Geden's Lecture. They abundantly prove that the Hebrews believed in the life to come, and in a future judgement by which the fate of men will be determined according to their conduct in this life.

(2) A word should be said about Mr. Geden's second statement above, that the descriptions of the realm of the dead in the Old Testament are ' generally suggestive of gloom and terror.' It must be remembered that these descriptions occur for the most part in lyric

poems; and the lyric expresses, not a reasoned and permanent conclusion, but an emotional mood, intense enough for the time, but often transient, and not infrequently quite out of harmony with the settled conviction of the poet. In the contemplation of our own death, and especially at the grave-side of our friends, a mood of sadness and melancholy foreboding, during which our imagination, busy with the suggestions of decay and corruption, irresistibly fills our minds with thoughts of gloom and hopelessness, is almost inevitable. Even Jesus wept at the tomb of His friend Lazarus. Is it any wonder that such moods leapt to expression from the lips of the Hebrew poets, especially in the days before our Lord had brought life and immortality to light in His gospel? Indeed, their gloomiest fancies can be matched in our modern poets. Blake sings:

> When I my grave have made,
> Let winds and tempests beat;
> There down I'll lie as cold as clay;
> True love doth pass away.

Lamb speaks of the world beyond the grave as 'that unknown and silent shore.' Ebenezer Elliot laments:

> All must go where no wind blows,
> And none can go for him who goes;
> None, none return whence no one knows.

Hood anticipates:

> That thought shall cease, and the immortal sprite
> Be lapped in alien clay and laid below.

Sara Coleridge grieves for an infant's death as a sleep

'whence it can wake no more.' Edward Fitzgerald translates the Persian poet's exhortation:

> Ah, make the most of what we yet may spend,
> Before we too into the dust descend;
> Dust unto dust, and under dust to lie,
> Sans wine, sans song, sans singer, and sans end!

Austin Dobson predicts:

> I shall not see the morning sky;
> I shall not hear the night-wind sigh;
> I shall be mute, as all men must
> In after days.

Robert Bridges sighs:

> Ah! little at best can all our hopes avail us
> To lift this sorrow, or cheer us, when in the dark,
> Unwilling, alone we embark,
> And the things we have seen and have known and have heard of, fail us.

Henley declares:

> Beyond this place of wrath and tears
> Looms but the horror of the shade.

It would be absurd to argue that these despairing moods represent the general attitude of the men of the nineteenth century towards the future life; and it is just as absurd to take the gloomy pictures of Sheol in the Psalms as indicating the average belief of the Hebrew people. Moreover, we must set beside them such words as:

> Therefore my heart is glad and my glory rejoiceth;
> My flesh also shall dwell in safety.
> For Thou wilt not leave my soul to Sheol,
> Neither wilt Thou suffer Thine Holy One to see corruption.

Thou wilt show me the path of life;
In Thy presence is fullness of joy;
In Thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore.
—Ps. xvi. 9 ff.

And again:

As for me, I shall behold Thy face in righteousness;
I shall be satisfied, when I awake, with Thy likeness.
—Ps. xvii. 15.

And again:

Thou shalt guide me with Thy counsel,
And afterward receive me to glory.
My flesh and my heart faileth;
But God is the strength of my heart and my portion for ever.
—Ps. lxxiii. 24.

And finally:

He hath swallowed up death for ever;
And the Lord Jehovah will wipe away tears from off all faces.
—Isa. xxv. 8.

Can it be thought that a people who read passages like these in their sacred books did not believe in the future existence and blessedness of the righteous? And this faith, I contend, was a part of their debt to Egypt.

It may be added that we moderns owe something to the land of the Pharaohs in our familiar use of the phrase 'the river of death.' All the burial-places of the Egyptians were on the western bank of the Nile, whilst the towns and villages inhabited by the living were on the east of the river. The corpse, after being mummified and kept for some time in its old home, was ferried over the Nile in a sort of hearse-like barge,

and so conveyed to its final resting-place. From this the Greeks derived their myth of Charon, who ferried departed souls over the Styx into Hades; and from them the idea passed into Christian phraseology. When John Bunyan makes his pilgrims pass through a river before entering the Celestial City, when Charles Wesley describes the saints on earth as being 'now divided by the stream, the narrow stream of death' from those to glory gone, when Burns speaks of 'that unknown river, Life's dreary bound,' when Watts talks of 'Death's cold flood,' when Whittier says, 'And so beside the silent sea I wait the muffled oar,' when the negro chorus sings, 'One more river to cross,' they are all unconsciously reproducing the Egyptian idea that the Nile has to be crossed by the dead man before he can enter into his final resting-place. And in the phrase which became so poignantly and pathetically familiar during the Great War—to 'go west'—there still survives the thought that the departed spirit goes over the Nile to the land of the setting sun. The *Oxford Dictionary* confesses ignorance as to the origin of the expression, the first example of which dates from 1919, though it was certainly used by our men before that. I have often wondered whether it may not have been first used by our boys in Egypt, and have been started by one of them who knew something of the antiquities of that land of mystery.

IX

THE KINGSHIP

DURING the forty years of the wilderness life of Israel, Moses centralized in himself all the functions of the king as he had known them in the Court of Egypt. He, like the Pharaoh, was the supreme and only legislator; the head of the priestly order which was appointed by him; the final judge in all matters of dispute, for the preliminary examination of which he gave authority to a body of elders as his representatives; and the commander-in-chief in war. All these functions continued to be exercised by Joshua as long as he lived. But, after his death, the tribes fell apart; there was no central government, and, during the period of the Judges, 'there was no king in Israel; every man did that which was right in his own eyes' (Judges xvii. 6). Local chiefs, like Abimelech, may have arrogated to themselves a quasi-regal authority over their own districts, but they were in no case generally recognized. It was the aggressive policy of the Philistines that gave Samuel his opportunity, first to consolidate the tribes under his own rule, and then to anoint Saul as their king. Saul and David were essentially military leaders; but, when Solomon came to a peaceful throne, he constituted the monarchy on thoroughly Egyptian lines. He married the daughter of Pharaoh, and took her father and his

Court as the model of his own. The description in 1 Sam. viii. 11 ff. of 'the manner of the king' belongs to a later stratum of the narrative, and is obviously suggested by the procedure of Solomon. 'He will take your sons and appoint them unto him for his chariots and to be his horsemen; and they shall run before his chariots. And he will appoint them unto him for captains of thousands and captains of hundreds. And he will set some to plough his ground, and to reap his harvest, and to make his instruments of war, and the instruments of his chariots. And he will take your daughters to be perfumers and to be cooks and to be bakers. And he will take your fields and your vineyards and your olive-yards, even the best of them, and give them to his servants. And he will take the tenth of your seed, and of your vineyards, and give to his eunuchs and to his servants. And he will take your menservants, and your maidservants, and your goodliest young men, and your asses, and put them to his work. He will take the tenth of your flocks; and ye shall be his servants.' The specific mention of the chariots; the perfumers and cooks and bakers; the heavy taxation; the eunuchs, who imply a royal harem; and the use of the corvée, or organized system of forced labour, implies a deliberate copying by Solomon of Egyptian practices. The Deuteronomist (Deut. xvii. 16) is evidently influenced by the memory of Solomon's behaviour when he demands of the king, 'He shall not multiply horses to himself, nor cause the people to return to Egypt, to the end that he may multiply horses. . . . Neither shall he multiply wives

to himself . . . neither shall he greatly multiply to himself silver and gold.' These are the very things that Solomon did, as we learn from 1 Kings x. 26, xi. 1–4, x. 21; and it was not only the horses that he got from Egypt, but also the precedent for his numerous harem, and for the accumulation of silver and gold, as Tutankhamen's tomb bears eloquent witness.

The list of the officials of his Court (1 Kings iv. 1 ff.) can be closely paralleled from the accounts we have of the officials of the Court of Pharaoh. He had his council, 'his princes who stand before him'; the priests were of his appointing; he had scribes to keep the imperial accounts, and an historiographer, or recorder, to set down the chief events of his reign; a commander-in-chief of his armies; numerous officers in the various nomes who collected his imposts and supervised the corvée, one of whom, like Adoniram, was the chief director of 'the men subject to task-work'; a prime minister, who was distinguished by the title of 'the king's friend'; and a major-domo, like Ahishar, who was 'over his household.' As Dr. Flint says in his article in *H. B. D.* on Solomon: 'His own tastes, indeed, were of a kind which would have disposed him to imitate the style of life of a Pharaoh, but they must have been strengthened by his marriage with a Pharaoh's daughter. However explained, his ideal of kingship was the ideal which had for ages been conspicuously exemplified in Egypt.' The result of his introduction of the Egyptian method of the corvée was the great disruption between the Northern and

Southern Kingdoms which followed immediately after his death—a debt to Egypt for which Israel had to pay exorbitant interest until the day of the captivity of the ten tribes.

PART III

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

I

LANGUAGE

In spite of their long sojourn in Egypt, the Hebrews retained their own language and did not adopt that of their masters. The Semitic languages include (*a*) Babylonian and Assyrian, (*b*) Aramean, and (*c*) Arabic. Hebrew belongs to the Aramean group, and is most closely akin to the Syriac, Canaanite, and Phoenician tongues. The Egyptian language exhibits the leading characteristics of the Semitic languages; its word-stems are combinations of consonants, usually three in number, and invariable; inflections and variations of meaning are indicated by internal changes in the vowel sounds, by suffixes, and by reduplication; in particular, the persons in the conjugation of the verbs are shown by the addition to the stem of pronominal suffixes. These fundamental peculiarities prove the original Semitic affiliation of the language; but, after the settlement of the Semitic Egyptians in Africa, their intermixture with the older inhabitants and their intercourse with their neighbours to the west of the Nile Delta profoundly affected both their grammar and their vocabulary, so that their language as we know it has many relations to such Hamitic dialects as Galli, Somali, and Berber. But just as the large number of Latin words in English, and the influence of Norman-French and Danish in simplifying both its grammatical inflections and spelling, do not affect its essential

character as one of the Teutonic group of the Indo-Germanic family, so Egyptian, in spite of its Hamitic indebtedness, still remains a member of the Semitic group, though it differs more from the other members of the group than any one of them differs from any other. Now Hebrew owes nothing to Egyptian for its grammatical forms, and was not affected by the grammatical changes which Egyptian had suffered from its African contacts. Thus the old Semitic imperfect tense and the old case-endings of nouns, which had disappeared from Egyptian, were still retained by the Hebrews; and the analogies between Hebrew and Egyptian grammar are due, not to any borrowing on the part of the Hebrews, but to the common Semitic origin of the two languages. One may compare the relation of Welsh to English; both languages are members of the Indo-Germanic family, and therefore present certain fundamental analogies in grammar; but, though the Welsh have been for so many centuries in close touch with the English, they have retained their own language, with its own vocabulary and grammar; and that in spite of the tremendous influence of the printing-press, which has flooded the Principality with English literature.

Whilst, however, the Hebrews clung patriotically to their own tongue, there is little doubt that they derived the alphabet by means of which they were able to write it from the Egyptian hieratic. Just as the Babylonian conquerors of Mesopotamia borrowed their alphabet from the Sumerians whom they had vanquished, or as our English forefathers adopted the

Roman alphabet which they found in Britain, so the Hebrews, without changing their language, took over from the Egyptians the alphabetic signs which had been evolved from the primitive picture-writing of the earliest hieroglyphs. The oldest Egyptian writing was pictorial; men in various positions, the different parts of the body, animals and birds, trees, the sun, moon, and stars, buildings, ships, articles of furniture and dress, were represented by recognizable pictures, more or less conventionalized, but still identifiable with the objects for which they stood. A great advance was made when the picture was made to represent, not the object itself, but any word which had the same sound as the name of that object; and by the combination of such sounds words could be expressed which could not be pictured. Thus, by combining the pictures of *men* (a chessboard), *kheper* (a dung-beetle), and *ra* (the sun), a new word, *Men-kheper-ra*, the sacred name of Tahutmes III was able to be written; or by the combination of *nefer* (a lute), *kheper* with the three vertical strokes indicating the plural (the dung-beetle), and *ra* (the sun), we get *Nefer-khepra-ra*, the sacred name of Akhen-aten. The rebuses with which we were familiar in our childhood were constructed exactly on the same principle. But the final and epoch-making step was taken when some genius conceived the idea of selecting some two dozen pictures and making each of them stand for the first letter of its name. Thus the mouth (*ro*) stands for *r*; the waved line representing water (*nu*) for *n*; a worm or snake (*fent*) for *f*; a hand (*tet*) for *t*; and so on. In this way

an alphabet was secured by the use of which any word could be written. Whoever the learned priest was who first devised this scheme for alphabetic writing, he deserves a monument higher than Cleopatra's Needle; for he made possible the literatures of the Hebrews, the Greeks, the Romans, the Europeans, and the Americans. It was a discovery far transcending in importance anything that the human mind has achieved during all the centuries that have elapsed since it was made. But the Egyptian hieroglyphics, though admirably adapted for monumental and decorative work with painted or chiselled characters, were not capable of being readily and quickly enough written to be of extensive use in documents of a literary kind; and so the old pictures were simplified and conventionalized into forms which could be written in a cursive or running hand. Thus the hieratic script was developed, which in the Middle Kingdom came to be invariably used for all papyrus documents, except for religious texts, and it was from this script that the old Hebrew alphabet was derived. Until quite recently, the only examples of this primitive Hebrew alphabet were found in the Moabite Stone (about 850 B.C.) and in the rock-cut tunnel at Jerusalem, which probably dates from the reign of Hezekiah (about 725 B.C.). Considerable additions to our knowledge of it have, however, been obtained from the ostraca unearthed at Samaria by the Harvard Excavation Expedition; and, commenting on these, Dr. Jack says (*Expos. Times*, xxxviii., p. 267): 'For the Hebrew alphabet we must start, not from the Babylonian cuneiform writing

or the Sumerian picture writing, nor from the Cyprian, Minoan, or Phaestos scripts, but from the Egyptian hieroglyphics.' It was in this script, doubtless, that Moses wrote down the earliest code of Hebrew Law and his records of the wilderness journeys ; and it was employed by David in his Psalms, by J and E in their histories, and by the various pre-exilic prophets and writers of the Old Testament. From it was developed, after the return from Babylon, the square Hebrew alphabet with which we are familiar in our printed Bibles. As Dr. A. S. Geden says (*Intro. Hebrew Bible*, p. 37) : ' With a written character they [the people of Israel] must have been familiar, by sight at least, during their sojourn in the land of Egypt ; and there is no reason to doubt that their leaders and chief men would be competent to make practical use of the art. As far as written records, therefore, are concerned, the history seems to show that there would be no inherent impossibility in their composition and preservation at and after a date as early as the period of the Israelite residence in Egypt.' For the alphabet, therefore, not only the Hebrews, but all the nations of the Western world, owe a debt to Egypt of incalculable value and importance.

Vocabulary.—It would seem *a priori* probable that during their long residence in Egypt the Hebrews borrowed many words from Egyptian and incorporated them into their own language. But we must be on our guard against assuming that a resemblance between a Hebrew and an Egyptian word proves that the one was derived from the other. Hebrew and Egyptian are both Semitic tongues, and a likeness between words in

the one and the other, especially when similar words are found in other members of the Semitic group, do not indicate direct derivation, but a common origin in the primitive Semitic language. Again the Welsh language provides an instructive parallel ; it contains some words directly taken over from English ; but the greater part of its vocabulary owes its similarity to the corresponding English words, not to derivation from English, but to the common Indo-Germanic origin of both the tongues. The Hebrews, like the Welsh, retained their own language during the centuries of their close contact with another nation ; and only adopted, as a rule, words that indicated objects for which they had not already got a name of their own. For the most part, the Egyptian words in Hebrew are either proper names of persons and places, or names of things with which the Hebrews only became acquainted during their sojourn in Goshen, or through trade-intercourse in later times. An exhaustive list of such words would be out of place in a lecture of this character, and, indeed, much fuller study will be necessary before anything like a complete and final list can be given. A few examples, however, may be interesting as confirming and illustrating the Old Testament story, and for them I am largely indebted to Canon Cook's essay in the first volume of the *Speaker's Commentary* ; to Harkavy's paper in *Le Journal asiatique*, Mars-Avril 1870 ; to Professor Albright's papers in *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, January and July 1918 ; and to Brown, Driver, and Briggs's *Hebrew Lexicon*.

To begin with the proper names. The name given by Pharaoh to Joseph was *Zaphenath-paneah* (Gen. xli. 45). The older scholars transliterate it as '*Zaf net panch*,' i.e. 'Food of Life,' which would be appropriate enough for the man who saved the Egyptians from famine; but Driver makes it '*Ze-pnute-ef-onch*,' i.e., 'The god speaks and he lives,' referring to Joseph's interpretation of the king's dream. His wife's name—*Asenath*, or *As-neith*—may mean either 'The Favourite of Neith' or 'Isis-Neith,' a combination of the names of the two great Egyptian goddesses. Her father's name, *Potipherah* is '*Pati-para*,' i.e. 'Devoted to Ra,' of whose temple he was the High Priest; and the name of Joseph's master is probably an abbreviation of this; or it may mean 'Devoted to the House,' i.e. to the royal house. The name of the great Lawgiver was given to him, according to Hebrew tradition, by Pharaoh's daughter; 'she called his name *Mosheh*, and said, Because I drew him out of the water' (Exod. ii. 10). The Hebrew *Mashah* means to draw out; but most scholars think that the name was really *Mesu*, the Egyptian for 'son,' which probably comes from the same Semitic root as *Mashah*, and means 'drawn out of the womb.' Moses called his son *Gershom*; 'for he said, I have been a sojourner in a strange land.' *Ger* is common to Hebrew and Egyptian, and means 'a dweller'; but *shom* is pure Egyptian, and means 'a foreign land'; hence it seems probable that the whole name is of Egyptian origin. *Phinehas* would appear to be the Egyptian *Pe-nahasi*, the negro. But the tendency in all similar cases of race-contact is for each to

retain tenaciously its own personal names, and not to borrow them from its neighbour; and, though a detailed examination of Hebrew proper names may result in the discovery of further Egyptian derivatives, on the whole we may safely conclude that they are for the most part of Hebrew origin.

The title of the Egyptian kings. *Pharaoh*, or *Par-go*, is compounded of *Par*, house, and *Go*, great; the Great House is the palace of the king, where the government is administered (cf. the *Sublime Porte*); and the title is then transferred to the king himself. The names of the Pharaohs who are specifically mentioned in the Old Testament are carefully transcribed and can be easily identified. A list of them as given in the R.V., with the Egyptian equivalents, may be useful. *Shishak* (1 Kings xiv. 25) = *Sheshonk I*; *Zerah* (2 Chron. xiv. 9) = *Usarkon I*; *So* (2 Kings xvii. 4), which represents the Hebrew *Sua* = *Shabaka*; *Necho* (2 Kings xxiii. 29) is exactly transliterated from the Egyptian; *Hophra* (Jer. xliv. 30) = *Haa-ab-ra*.

Place-names are constantly transferred from their original language into others either exactly or with some slight change, as when Englishmen call Wien *Vienna*, or Firenze *Florence*, or Venezia *Venice*; or Frenchmen speak of London as *Londres*. Many such Egyptian names occur in the Hebrew Bible. Egypt itself is usually called *Mizraim*; this is a dual form, and probably means the two Egypts, Upper and Lower, which is the usual circumlocution in the monuments for the whole country. The root-form, *Musur* or *Misir*, occurs in Assyrian and Arabic, and has passed into

Coptic in the form *Mesrem* ; but it was not used by the Egyptians themselves, who called their land *Khemt* (the black land) ; which may be the origin of the phrase ' the land of *Ham*,' used in some of the later Psalms as a designation of Egypt. Certain other tribal names may have been borrowed from the Egyptian ; for example, *Cush* is the Egyptian *Kos* or *Kes*, and indicates the people of the southern Nile valley ; *Phut* corresponds to the Coptic *Phaiat*, and probably refers to the Libyans settled around Cyrene ; *Lehubim* or *Lubim* is from the Egyptian *Lebu*, and means the Libyans living to the west of the Nile Delta ; the *Anamim* may mean the dwellers in *Anu* or *On* (Heliopolis), though this is very uncertain ; the *Naphtuhim* may be from the Egyptian *Pe-te-mhi*, i.e. the southern land, and may be connected with *Napata*, the capital of the Ethiopic Dynasty ; *Pathros* (with the name of its inhabitants, *Pathrusim*) is the Egyptian *Pe-te-res*, i.e. south land ; *Caphtor* is the Egyptian *Keft-ur*, and means Crete, or possibly Cilicia ; *Amorite* (Eg. *Amurra*), *Canaanite* (Eg. *Pa-Kanghana*), *Hittite* (Eg. *Cheta*), and *Hebrew* itself (Eg. *Habiri*) are rather sister-words belonging to the primitive Semitic stock than direct derivatives from Egyptian.

Turning now to more definite Egyptian place-names, there are several which must have become known to the Hebrews during their sojourn in Lower Egypt. The district allotted to Jacob and his family (Gen. xlv. 10) is called *Goshen*, which may correspond (though this is questionable) to the Egyptian *Kesem*, the tract of country lying east of Bubastis. In Gen. xlvii. 11, it is

said to have been 'in the land of *Rameses*,' where the name is used proleptically, for the land probably received this name later from Rameses II, who carried on extensive building operations there. Two of his store cities are mentioned in Exod. i. 11 as *Pithom* and *Raamses*. As we have seen, they were probably built in the first instance by Tahutmes III, and afterwards rebuilt and possibly enlarged by Rameses II. *Pithom* is Eg. *Petom*, the house of the god *Etom*, and has been identified by Naville and Petrie with Tell-el-Maskhuta. *Raamses* was probably renamed after himself by Rameses II, and is the present Tell Rotah. *Etham* (Exod. xiii. 20) may be Eg. *Chetem* ; *Pihahiroth* (Exod. xiv. 2) is perhaps Eg. *Pehir*, the house of wells. Ezekiel (xxx. 13 ff.) mentions several Egyptian cities whose names may have become known through later intercourse with that country. *Noph* (spelt *Moph* in Hos. ix. 6) is the Egyptian *Menfi*, better known as *Memphis*, the ancient capital of Lower Egypt. *Zoan* is Eg. *Zani*, known to the Greeks as *Tanis*, the capital city of the Hyksos kings. *No* is Eg. *Net* (city), and is the Hebrew name for Thebes ; also called by Nahum (iii. 8) *No-Amon*, the City of Amon, who was its tutelary god. *Sin* is Pelusium, but its Egyptian name is not known. *On* (Gen. xli. 45) is Eg. *Anu*, also called Beth-Shemesh, and, by the Greeks, Heliopolis (City of the Sun). Ezekiel insultingly puns on its name, and calls it *Aven* (idolatry). *Pi-Beseth* is Eg. *Pi-ubasti*, the house of Ubasti, known to the Greeks as Bubastis, now Tell Basta, the capital of the Twenty-second Dynasty. *Tehaphnehes*, or *Tahpanhes*, was the Egyptian name of

Daphnae, now Tell Defne.' The *Hanes* mentioned in Isa. xxx. 4 is transliterated *Tanis* by the LXX, but is more probably the Eg. *Henes*, or Heracleopolis Magna, the native place of the kings of the Twenty-second Dynasty.

The most striking natural feature of Egypt is the Nile, on the annual rising of which the prosperity of the country entirely depends. The Egyptian name for it was *Yeor*, and this name was adopted by the Hebrews. In the plural it is used for the arms of the Nile, or for the irrigation canals connected with it. It occurs frequently in Gen. xli. and in the earlier chapters of Exodus, where the R.V. translates it as 'the river' or 'rivers'; but the reference is always to the Nile. In Amos viii. 8 and ix. 5 the prophet refers to the annual inundation; and the R.V. translates it 'the river.' In Ezek. xxix. 3 it is rendered 'rivers' and 'my river'; but in Isa. xix. 7 ff., xxiii. 10, Jer. xlvi. 8, Zech. x. 11, it is translated 'the Nile'; in Nahum iii. 8 the R.V. text has 'rivers.' In Isa. xxxiii. 21, where the prophet predicts that there shall be *yeorim* in the New Jerusalem, he is probably thinking of the Egyptian cities watered by the Nile and its canals, in contrast with Jerusalem, which was notoriously lacking in water-supplies. In Job xxviii. 10 the word seems to mean 'canals,' or, as the R.V. has it, 'channels'; in Dan. xii. 5 ff. it is used of the Hiddekel, or Tigris. But, with these two exceptions, it always refers to the Nile. Its root-meaning is a large body of water; and so the generic Hebrew word *Yom*, which usually means 'the sea,' is transferred to the Nile in Nahum iii. 8, Isa. xix. 8, xviii. 2, and Ezek. xxxii. 2

by analogy; so probably in Ps. civ. 25, where the mention of leviathan (the crocodile) shows that the Nile is intended.

Of the contributions of Egyptian to the Hebrew vocabulary it is difficult to speak with certainty. Hebrew and Egyptian are both Semitic languages, and many words which look alike in both may be sister-derivations from the primitive Semitic tongue; just as the Latin and Greek *pater*, the German *Vater*, the English *father*, &c., are not derived the one from the other, but go back to an original Indo-Germanic source. Examples of many such sister-words in the different Semitic languages may be found in Professor Albright's illuminating articles on Egypto-Semitic etymology in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, January and July 1918. Where, however, the things indicated by the words are such as the Hebrews would be likely to become acquainted with only through their intercourse with Egypt, it may be safely inferred that they took over the names by which they were known in Egypt. A few examples may be given, though no completeness can be attempted until our knowledge of Egyptian is much fuller than it is at present. The first word given is the Hebrew one, the second the Egyptian from which it is derived. (The transliterations are into the nearest English equivalent sounds, and are not scientifically exact.)

Achu (Gen. xli. 2) is the Egyptian word for the reeds or rushes growing on the banks of the Nile.

Tebat is used for the vessel in which Noah was saved, and for the basket in which the infant Moses was

placed by his mother. It is Eg. *tebet*, a box, coffer, or cradle (Exod. ii. 3).

Gome means the papyrus-reed in Egyptian and Coptic, and is the material of which the basket was made in which Moses was hidden (R.V. bulrushes; in margin, papyrus).

Zepheth, pitch, is found both in Egyptian and Arabic. Probably it was taken by the Hebrews from the Egyptian (Exod. ii. 3).

Suph, the rushes on a river-bank, is Eg. *tufi* (Exod. ii. 3).

Yeor, the Nile, has been discussed above. It is noteworthy that all these Egyptian words, *tebat*, *gome*, *zepheth*, *suph*, and *yeor*, occur in the one verse, Exod. ii. 3.

Sari massim, overseers of the labour-gangs (Exod. i. 11). *Sar* is a word common to several Semitic languages, including Egyptian; but *massim* is apparently Egyptian, and so the whole phrase may probably have been taken from Egyptian as a loan-word.

Chartummim, used in Gen. xli. 8 for the Egyptian magicians, is possibly a transposition of Eg. *rech-chet*, as Ebers thought; or more likely is from Eg. *char*, to speak, and *tum*, a secret, as Harkavy maintains; Driver does not accept either of these suggestions.

Kinnim is the word used for gnats or lice in Exod. viii. 12, and is identified by Brugsch with Eg. *chenemma*, a mosquito.

Gharob, translated 'flies' in R.V., may be connected with Eg. *abeb*, meaning a venomous insect.

Chibshan, a furnace or brick-kiln (Exod. ix. 8), is connected by Cook with Eg. *chabs*, a burning lamp.

Pesheth, flax or linen, is from Eg. *pek*, the 'k' being softened into 'sh,' a not infrequent change.

Givghol, to bud (Exod. ix. 31), corresponds closely to Eg. *gabu*, to blossom.

Pesach, Passover (Exod. xii. 13), has no analogue in any of the Semitic languages, and appears to be connected with Eg. *pesh*, to spread the wings over (cf. Isa. xxxi. 5); or possibly with Eg. *sacha*, to call to mind.

Seor, leaven (Exod. xii.), may probably be connected with Eg. *seri*, to seethe, and *seru*, cheese.

Etoon. In Prov. vii. 16 the courtesan says, 'I have spread my couch . . . with striped cloths of the *etoon* of Egypt.' The word is otherwise unknown; Harkavy suggests that it is Eg. *aten*, a disk or sphere, and translates, 'I have spread my couch with cloths painted with Egyptian disks.'

Teneh, a basket (Deut. xxvi. 4), is Eg. *tena*, which has the same meaning.

Lahat, used in Exod. vii. 22, &c., for the enchantments of the Egyptian magicians, is probably from the Eg. *rech-chet*, magic.

Makrah. In Gen. xlix. 5 Jacob says of Simeon and Levi, 'Weapons of violence are their *makeroth*'; through a fancied connexion with the Greek *machaira* (a sword), the word has been supposed to mean 'a sword,' as in R.V., 'Weapons of violence are their swords'; but Birch and Harkavy suggest that it is the Eg. *macher*, a storehouse, and translate much more intelligibly, 'Their storehouses contain instruments of violence.'

Kagh-kagh, translated in R.V. (Lev. xix. 28) ' marks,' is from Eg. *kahkahu*, to engrave or incise.

Rabid, a collar or neck ornament, in Gen. xli. 42 is bestowed on Joseph by Pharaoh. It is the Eg. *repit*, meaning an image or amulet carried round the neck by a chain.

Secher is translated in Isa. xix. 10 (R.V.) by ' hire ' ; and ' they that work for hire ' is taken to mean ' mercenaries.' This whole chapter is concerned with Egypt ; and when we find an Egyptian word, *secher*, meaning ' counsel,' we may be fairly confident that this is what the Hebrew word means, and translate, ' those who offer counsels.'

Shesh, fine linen, is undoubtedly Egyptian, where it occurs in the form *shes*.

Behamah, pl. *behemoth*, is Eg. *bechema*, the ox of the water, i.e. the hippopotamus, so graphically described in Job xl. 15 ff.

Shasher, vermilion, is identified by Layard with Eg. *tesher*.

Chatham, to seal, is, according to Albright, a loan-word from the Eg. *chatam*, to engrave.

Shittah, the thorny acacia, translated in Exod. xxv., &c., ' acacia,' is Eg. *shindt*, the acacia nilotica.

Leshem (Exod. xxviii. 19), translated jacinth, or amber in margin in R.V., is derived by Hommell from Eg. *neshem*.

Achlamah (Exod. xxviii. 19), amethyst ; may be Eg. *ekhnome*.

Sheti (Lev. xiii. 48), warp ; may be connected with Eg. *seta*, to spin.

Zereth (Exod. xxviii. 16), a span, is from Eg. *tsert*, the hand.

Ephah, a measure equal to ten omers, is the Eg. *ipt*.

Hin, a liquid measure, is identical in form with Eg. *hin*, though the Hebrew *hin* was much larger than the Egyptian *hin*.

Tahas (Ezek. xvi. 10) is an Egyptian word meaning sealskin.

This list is by no means exhaustive, and a fuller knowledge of the Egyptian colloquial vocabulary may yield many more examples of coincidence between Hebrew and Egyptian, and some of the above derivations are by no means certain. But there is enough evidence to show that the Hebrews did derive many words from Egyptian, and they are for the most part the names of objects with which the Hebrews would become acquainted during their sojourn in Egypt.

II

LITERATURE

1. Folk-lore

The primitive stories of the early chapters of Genesis betray their Babylonian origin by many indications. The Creation story in Gen. i. has many analogies in the two series of tablets known as the Creation Tablets—the Assyrian one, discovered by George Smith, and the Sumerian one, described by Pinches. The location of Eden in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates and Hiddekel (Tigris) points to Mesopotamia. The land of Nod, where Cain settled and built a city, is 'on the east of Eden' (Gen. iv. 16). The story of the Flood presents most remarkable resemblances to the Babylonian account even in such a detail as the sending forth by Noah of the dove and the raven; and the Ark rests on the mountains of eastern Armenia. The name of the Tower of Babel declares unmistakably the local source of the story in Gen. xi. It is true that there are some coincidences between the Egyptian and Babylonian Creation myths; for example, the separation of the firmament from the earth; the primaeval chaos out of which all things were made; the creation of the sun by the Word or Voice of Tum; and the moulding of man out of clay by Knuhmu. But these only indicate the common origin of the various Semitic cosmogonies; and the complete absence of any reference to the Flood

in the literature of Egypt negatives the idea that these early stories in Genesis were derived by the Hebrews from that source. Whether Abraham brought them with him from Ur of the Chaldees and rehearsed them to his clan round the camp-fires, or whether they percolated into Hebrew tradition through the influence of Babylon and Nineveh in later times, it is impossible to determine with any certainty ; all that can be said is that they were closely connected with Babylonian folk-lore, and were not derived from Egypt.

2. Lyric Poetry

In all the nations of the world the song, or lyric, is the first form in which literature found expression ; and the Hebrews are no exception to this universal rule. They possessed at least two collections of such lyrics—the Book of Jashar and the Book of the Wars of Jehovah. Many of these primitive songs have been preserved for us in the Old Testament, such as the Song of Lamech (Gen. iv. 23) ; Noah's Curse and Blessing (Gen. ix. 25–7) ; Isaac's Blessings of his Sons (Gen. xxvii. 27 and 39) ; Jacob's prophecy (Gen. xlix. 2 ff.) ; Miriam's Song (Exod. xv.) ; the formula for the taking up and setting down of the Ark (Num. x. 35) ; the three songs in Num. xxi. 14, 17, and 27 ; Joshua's Address to the Sun and Moon, which was contained in the Book of Jashar (Joshua x. 12) ; the Song of Deborah (Judges v.) ; the Women's Song in celebration of David's exploits (1 Sam. xviii. 7) ; and David's Song of the Bow (2 Sam. i. 19), his Elegy for

Abner (2 Sam. iii. 33), his great Psalm of Deliverance (2 Sam. xxii. and Ps. xviii.), and his Last Words (2 Sam. xxiii. 1–7). These earliest lyrics determined the form in which later poems were cast, such as the prophecy of Balaam (Num. xxiii. and xxiv.) ; the Song and Blessing of Moses (Deut. xxxii. and xxxiii.) ; the Book of Psalms ; the Song of Solomon ; the Lamentations of Jeremiah ; and the numerous lyric passages in the Prophets.

As an example we may take what is probably the earliest of them all—the Song of Lamech :

> Adah and Zillah, hear my voice ;
> Ye wives of Lamech, hearken unto my speech ;
> For I have slain a man for wounding me,
> And [I have killed] a young man for bruising me.
> If Cain shall be avenged sevenfold,
> Truly Lamech seventy-and-sevenfold.

We have exemplified here the characteristic features of all Hebrew lyrics ; but for their proper appreciation it will be necessary to give the original Hebrew, transliterated into English letters :

> Ghedáh vetsilláh shemíghan qolí
> Neshéi Lémech hiazénnah imráthi
> Chi ísh herágti lephítsghi
> Veyéled [qatálti] lechabráthi
> Chi shivghatháim yuqqám Qáin
> Ve Lémech shivghím veshivgháh.

As all lyric poetry is intended to be sung, rhythm is an essential element in the lyric form. The poem is divided into lines not too long to be sung in one breath ; and there is a regular recurrence of stressed syllables—so many to each line, the number of unstressed syllables being, however, indeterminate. The number of

stressed syllables is usually four or three to a line, though five or six occasionally occur. The lines are commonly arranged in stanzas or verses, most often of four lines each, but not infrequently of six. In Lamech's Song we have a couplet of four-stress, or tetrameter, lines, followed by a quatrain of three-stress, or trimeter, lines. (It is generally agreed that a word has dropped out of the fourth line, which I have supplied tentatively by *qatalti*, I have killed.)

The same general features are found in the Egyptian hymns and love-songs. Thus in a hymn to Amen-Ra we have :

> He maketh to live the fish in the river
> And the geese and the birds of the sky.
> He giveth air to the creature in the egg,
> He nourisheth the geese in their pens.
> He maketh to live the water-fowl,
> And the reptiles and every insect that flieth ;
> He provideth food for the mice in their holes,
> He nourisheth the birds on every bough.

In one of the charming love-lyrics in the Harris Papyrus (500) we read :

> I am thy first sister,
> And thou art to me as the garden
> Which I have planted with flowers
> And all sweet-smelling herbs.
> I directed a canal into it,
> That thou mightest dip thy hand in it,
> When the north wind blows cool ;
> The lovely place wherein we walk.

These features are so far from being limited to Egyptian and Hebrew lyrics that they are world-wide in their range, for they are the result of universal human

characteristics—the necessity of rhythm for singing, the limitation of the length of the line because of the frequent recurrence of the necessity for taking breath, and the need for making the connexion of the sense clear by verse-division. The corroboree songs of our Australian aborigines, as recorded by Sir Baldwin Spencer and by Professor E. Harold Davies; the Babylonian and Assyrian hymns; the lyrics of Sappho and of Horace, all exhibit a similar structure; and, not to go farther afield, our own English hymns and songs are constructed on the same lines. The old alliterative poems, like *Beowulf*, and *The Battle of Maldon*, and *The Vision of Piers Ploughman*, are in lines of four stresses each; e.g.

> I was wéry, forwándred, and wént me to rést
> Under a bróde bánke, by a bórnes síde;
> And as I láy and léned, and lóked in the wáteres,
> I slómbred in a slépyng, it swéyved so mérye.

Indeed, the four-stress line is the foundation of our English lyric metres; four-stress lines in a quatrain are the *long metre* of our hymn-books; in a sestet they make the *six-lines-eights*; combined with an alternate three-stress line they form our *common* or *ballad metre*; with a trochaic accent they constitute our *four-* and *eight-lines-sevens*; and so on. We have a few hymns, like 'Abide with me,' with a five-stress line; and a few, like 'We love the place, O God,' wholly made up of three-stress lines; but the four-stress is by far the most usual and normal line. This being practically a universal law, we cannot claim that the Hebrews

derived their lyric metres from the Egyptian ; both are primitive, natural rhythms, and are not dependent either on other.

Since the publication of Bishop Lowth's *Essay on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews* (1753) and his *Commentary on Isaiah* (1778), it has been generally admitted that Hebrew poetry is characterized by the principle of parallelism of members. The normal form is a couplet, the second line of which corresponds in expression and in thought to the first. This correspondence may take various forms. Thus the second line may simply repeat the first in different words, as in the Song of Lamech, where the second line repeats the first, and the fourth repeats the third, without any addition to the thought. This is called *synonymous parallelism*. Or the second line may contain a thought in direct contrast with that of the first ; this is known as *antithetic parallelism*. Or, again, the second line may develop the thought of the first by some additional idea ; this is called *synthetic parallelism*. These are the most important classes, but further varieties have been distinguished, such as the *introverted*, in which the first line of a strophe is answered by the fourth, and the second by the third ; the *emblematic*, where the second line illustrates the first by a metaphor or simile ; and the *climactic* or *stair-like*, where a fine effect is obtained by the repetition of a word or phrase from the first line in the second, or sometimes in several succeeding lines.

Now this device is found occasionally in almost all lyric poetry ; it is fairly common in the Babylonian

hymns ; e.g. in the *Hymn of the Descent of Istar into Sheol*, we have :

> Istar, the daughter of the moon-god, inclined her ear,
> Yea, the daughter of the moon-god inclined her ear ;
> To the house of darkness, the dwelling of the god Irkalla,
> To the house out of which there is no exit,
> To the road from which there is no return,
> To the house from whose entrance the light is taken,
> To the place where dust is their nourishment
> And mud their food,
> Light is never seen ;
> In darkness they dwell.

Nor is it uncommon in our own older poetry ; thus, in *The Battle of Maldon* we have :

> His brothers with him both fled away ;
> Even Godrinc and Godwig, they cared not for the fight,
> But went from the battle, and sought the woods,
> Fled into the fortress, and saved their lives.

But it is only in Hebrew and in Egyptian poetry that it is the very warp and woof of the structure of the poems. As Mr. A. B. Mace says in an article on ' The ' Influence of Egypt on Hebrew Literature ' (*Annals of Archaeology*, Vol. IX., 1922), to which I desire to express my great indebtedness : ' Hebrew poetry depends to a certain extent on rhythm, but more particularly on a parallelism of words or thoughts between the different parts of the verse. It is a peculiar form of poetry, such as is not likely to have originated in two countries independently, yet we find it fully developed in Egypt in 2000 B.C., and distinct traces of it a thousand years before that. It occurs, though in less marked a form, in Babylonian poetry, but its use in Egypt long

antedates that in any other country.' He concludes, 'It is at least possible that the Hebrews borrowed from Egypt the form of their poetry.' A few examples will show how close is the correspondence between the two.

(1) *Synonymous Parallelism*

A fire is gone out of Heshbon,
A flame from the city of Sihon;
It hath devoured Ar of Moab,
The lords of the High Places of Arnon.
Woe to thee, Moab!
Thou art undone, O people of Chemosh!
He hath given his sons as fugitives,
And his daughters into captivity.
—Num. xxi. 28 ff.

The cords of death compassed me,
And the floods of Belial made me afraid;
The cords of Sheol were round about me,
The snares of death came upon me.
—Ps. xviii. 4, 5.

Compare:

Thy loveliness is in the southern sky,
Thy graciousness is in the northern sky.
Thy beauties seize upon hearts,
Thy loveliness maketh the arms weak;
Thy beautiful works make the hands idle,
Hearts become weak at the sight of thee.
—*Hymn to Amen-Ra.*

Occupy thyself with thy pleasure daily,
And never cease to enjoy thyself;
Behold, a man is not permitted to carry his possessions away with him;
Behold, no one, having departed, was able to come back again.
—*Hymn of the Harper.*

(2) *Antithetic Parallelism*

A soft answer turneth away wrath;
But a grievous word stirreth up anger.
The tongue of the wise uttereth knowledge aright;
But the mouth of fools poureth out folly.
—Prov. xv. 1, 2.

Some trust in chariots and some in horses;
But we will make mention of the name of Jehovah our God.
They are bowed down and fallen,
But we are risen and stand upright.
—Ps. xx. 7, 8.

Compare:

The works of men are as nothing;
Amon is more precious than they.
—*Battle of Kadesh.*

The boat of the covetous is left in the mud;
The bark of the tranquil sails with the breeze.
—*Teaching of Amenophis.*

To answer roughly is like the brandishing of weapons;
But if thou wilt speak kindly and quietly, thou wilt always be loved.
—*Maxims of Ani.*

(3) *Synthetic Parallelism*

I am distressed for thee, my brother Jonathan;
Very pleasant hast thou been unto me;
Thy love to me was wonderful,
Passing the love of women.
—2 Sam. i. 26.

Why satest thou among the sheepfolds
To hear the pipings for the flocks?
At the watercourses of Reuben
There were great searchings of heart.
—Judges v. 16.

Compare :

Thou risest in the eastern horizon
And fillest every land with thy beauty.
—*Akhen-aten's Hymn.*

More acceptable is the virtue of one that is just
Than the ox of him that doeth iniquity.
—*Instruction for Merikere.*

(4) *Climactic Parallelism.*

Give unto Jehovah, O ye sons of the mighty,
Give unto Jehovah glory and strength ;
Give unto Jehovah the glory due unto His name ;
Worship Jehovah in the beauty of holiness.
—Ps. xxix. 1, 2.

O house of Israel, bless ye Jehovah !
O house of Aaron, bless ye Jehovah !
O house of Levi, bless ye Jehovah !
Ye that fear Jehovah, bless ye Jehovah !
—Ps. cxxxv. 19, 20.

Compare :

Lo, my name is abhorred,
Lo, more than the odour of carrion
On days in summer, when the sky is hot.
Lo, my name is abhorred,
Lo, more than catching fish
On the day of the catch, when the sky is hot.
Lo, my name is abhorred,
Lo, more than the odour of birds,
More than the hill of willows with the geese.
—*The Misanthrope.*

(And so on for five verses more).

Awake in peace, thou cleansèd one, in peace !
Awake in peace, thou eastern Horus, in peace !
Awake in peace, thou eastern soul, in peace !
Awake in peace, Harakhti, in peace !
—*Pyr. Texts, Utterance,* 573.

These illustrations, which might be indefinitely multiplied, suggest that for the form of their poetry the Hebrews were largely indebted to the Egyptians. When, however, we turn from form to matter, the evidence becomes more striking still. As Professor Erman says (*Lit. of Anc. Egyptians*, p. xxvii.): 'In Hebrew literature there are a number of features that strikingly remind one of the body of Egyptian writings —namely, in the Wisdom-literature of the Hebrews, in the Psalms, and in the Song of Songs. It might be supposed that similarities of this sort are to be traced, at least indirectly, to Egyptian prototypes. That being so, then even we ourselves must, without suspecting it, have all along been under the influence of the intellectual life of Egypt.'

3. The Psalms.

The discovery of the great *Hymn to the Aten*, or sun's disk, which dates from the religious reformation of Akhen-aten, and may have been composed by that monarch, led at once to the recognition of the many close parallels it presents, both in thought and expression, to Psalm civ. The two poems should be read throughout for the full appreciation of their likeness; but it may be worth while to set out the most striking passages. I shall put first the passages from Ps. civ. in Briggs's version, and then the corresponding ones from the *Aten-hymn*, in Griffith's translation.

Psalm civ. 1–4 :

O God, Thou art very great.
With majesty and splendour art Thou clothed !
Who put on light as a garment ;
Who stretched out the heavens as a tent-curtain ;
Who laid in the waters the beams of His upper chambers ;
Who made the clouds His chariot ;
Who made His angels winds,
His ministers fire and flame.

Hymn to Aten :

Thy appearing is beautiful in the horizon of heaven ;
The living Aten, the beginning of life ;
Thou risest in the horizon of the east ;
Thou fillest every land with thy beauty.
Thou art very beautiful, brilliant, and exalted above earth,
Thy beams encompass all lands which thou hast made.
Thou art the sun, thou settest their bounds,
Thou bindest them with thy love.

Psalm civ. 20 :

If thou makest darkness, then it is night,
Wherein all the wild beasts of the forest creep forth.
The young lions roar for prey,
And to seek their food from God.
When the sun rises, they gather themselves in,
And in their dens they lie down.
Man goeth forth to his work
And to his labour until evening.

Hymn to Aten :

Thou restest in the western horizon of heaven,
And the land is in darkness like the dead. . . .
Every lion cometh forth from his den
And all the serpents then bite. . . .
The land brightens, for thou risest in the horizon,
Shining as the Aten in the day ;
The darkness flees, for thou givest thy beams ;
Both lands are rejoicing every day.

Men awake and stand upon their feet,
For thou liftest them up;
They bathe their limbs, they clothe themselves.
They lift their hands in adoration of thy rising;
Throughout the land they do their labours.

Psalm civ. 14:

He caused grass to spring up for cattle,
And herbage to the labour of mankind,
In order that they might bring forth bread from the earth. . . .
The trees of Jehovah are full of sap,
The cedars of Lebanon, that He planted.
Where the birds build their nests;
The stork has her home in the cypresses;
The high mountains are for the wild goats,
The crags are a refuge for marmots.

Hymn to Aten:

The cattle all rest in their pastures
Where grow the trees and the herbs;
The birds fly in their haunts,
Their wings adoring thy *Ka*;
All the flocks leap upon their feet,
The small birds live when thou risest upon them.

Compare also the following from the *Cairo Hymn to Amon*, which probably dates from the reign of Amenophis II (1447–20 B.C.):

He who made herbage for the cattle,
And the fruit-tree for men.
He who made that whereon live the fish in the river,
And the birds which inhabit the firmament.
He who giveth breath to him that is in the egg,
And sustaineth the son of the worm.

Psalm civ. 25:

Yonder is the Nile, great and broad;
There are gliding things innumerable,
Living things, small together with great;
The crocodile which Thou didst form to play with.

Hymn to Aten:

The ships go forth, both north and south,
For every way opens at thy rising.
The fishes in the river swim up to greet thee;
Thy beams are within the depth of the great Nile.

In both cases the sea means the Nile, as is shown by the mention of the crocodile, which is not a sea-beast.

Psalm civ. 24:

O Jehovah, how manifold are Thy works!
In wisdom Thou hast made them all.

Hymn to Aten:

How many are things which thou hast made!
Thou createst the land by thy will, thou alone.

Psalm civ. 27:

The earth is full of Thy creatures;
All of them on Thee wait.
Thou givest to them; they gather it.
Thou openest Thy hand; they are satisfied.
Thou hidest Thy face; they are troubled.
Thou withdrawest Thy spirit; they expire.
Thou sendest forth Thy spirit; they are created.
And Thou renewest the face of the ground.

Hymn to Aten:

The land is in thy hand, even as thou hast made them;
Thou shinest and they live; and when thou settest, they die.

Certain other parallels may be indicated:

Psalm cxlv. 16:

Thou openest Thy hand, and satisfiest the desire of every living thing.

Hymn to Aten :

Thou openest his mouth to speak,
Thou doest what he needs.

Psalm xxii. 9–10 :

Thou art He that drewest me forth from the womb,
My trust upon the breast of my mother.
Upon Thee was I cast from the womb ;
From the belly of my mother Thou art my God.

Hymn to Aten :

Thou createst conception in women, making the issue of mankind.
Thou makest the son to live in the body of his mother ;
Thou quietest him that he should not mourn,
Nursing him in the body.

The chorus of universal praise in *Ps. cxlviii.* recalls the passage in the *Hymn to Amon* :

Praise to Thee, saith every beast ;
Jubilation to Thee, saith every wilderness ;
As high as is the heaven,
As broad as is the earth,
And as deep as is the sea.

Psalm xix. 8 :

This hymn of praise for the sun is supposed by Briggs to be taken from a Babylonian *Hymn to Shemesh* ; but there is no need to go beyond the Egyptian *Hymns to Ra* to find its original. The opening of the *Hymn to Aten* has been already quoted ; in the *Hymn to Amon* we have :

Thou art sole king among the gods,
Who ariseth in the eastern horizon
And setteth in the western horizon ;
Who is born early every day,
Who daily overthroweth his enemies.

In the *Pyramid Texts* we read :

He hath encircled the two entire skies,
He hath traversed the two river-banks ;
He is the Great Mighty One
That hath power over the mighty ones.
His duration is eternity, and his boundary everlastingness.

It is not only in the nature-hymns that parallels to the Psalms may be found in Egyptian literature. The following passages from the *Hymn to Amon* will at once suggest similar passages in the Psalms :

He giveth his hands to him whom he loveth,
While he assigneth his foe to the fire.
It is his eye that overthroweth the enemy ;
It thrusteth its spear into him that drinketh up the ocean,
And causeth the dragon to vomit forth what he hath swallowed.

Cf. *Psalm lxxxix.* 10 :

Thou hast broken Rahab in pieces as one that is slain ;
Thou hast scattered thine enemies with the arm of Thy strength.

He heareth the prayer of the prisoner ;
Kindly of heart when one calleth to him ;
He rescueth the fearful from the oppressor,
He judgeth between the miserable and the strong.

Cf. *Psalm lxxii.* 12–14 :

He will deliver the needy when he crieth ;
And the poor that hath no helper.
He will have pity on the poor and needy,
And the souls of the needy He will save.
He will redeem their souls from oppression and violence,
And precious will their blood be in His sight.

Psalm cvii. 13:

> Then they cried unto Jehovah in their trouble,
> And He saved them out of their distresses.

From a *Penitential Hymn to Ra:*

Punish me not for my many sins.
I am one that knoweth not himself.
I am a witless man.
All day long I follow my mouth, like an ox after fodder.

Cf. *Psalm lxxiii.* 22:

> So foolish was I and ignorant;
> I was as a beast before Thee.

From a *Hymn to Amon* (*Brit. Mus. Ostracon* 5656):

Amon, thou herdsman, who early seeth after the cows,
Who driveth the patient to the pasture.
For Amon is a herdsman, a herdsman that is not idle.

Cf. *Psalm xxiii.* ('The Lord is my shepherd,' &c.).
And from the same hymn:

> Amon, I love thee and trust in thee!
> Thou wilt deliver me from the mouth of man,
> On the day wherein he speaketh lies.
> For the lord of gods, he liveth on truth.
> What Amon hath said cometh to pass.

Cf. *Psalm cxlvi.* 6:

> Who keepeth truth for ever;
> Who executeth justice for the oppressed.

And again:

Though the servant is disposed to commit sin,
Yet is the Lord disposed to be merciful.
The Lord of Thebes passeth not a whole day wroth;
His wrath is finished in a moment, and naught is left.

Cf. *Psalm xxx.* 5 :

His anger is but for a moment ;
His favour is for a lifetime.

And once more :

Thou, Amon, art the Lord of him that is silent,
One who cometh at the voice of the poor.
If I call upon thee when I am in distress,
Thou comest that thou mayest deliver me.

Cf. *Psalm xxxiv.* 6 :

This poor man cried, and Jehovah heard him,
And saved him out of all his troubles.

Ptahotep, in his *Instructions*, says :

Trust not in thy riches, that have accrued to thee as a gift of God.

Cf. *Psalm lxii.* 10 :

If riches increase, set not your heart thereon.

In *The Instruction of Amenhemet* he complains :

It was he who ate my food that disdained me ;
It was he to whom I gave my hand that aroused fear therewith.

Cf. *Psalm xli.* 9 :

Yea, mine own familiar friend in whom I trusted,
Who did eat of my bread,
Hath lifted up his heel against me.

In *The Instruction for King Merikere* we are warned :

More acceptable to God is the virtue of one that is just of heart
Than the ox of him that doeth iniquity.

Cf. *Psalm li.* 16 :

Thou delightest not in sacrifice, else would I give it ;
Thou hast no pleasure in burnt offering.
The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit.

And *Psalm lxvi.* 18 :

If I regard iniquity in my heart,
The Lord will not hear.

The Misanthrope affirms :

There are none that are righteous ;
The earth is given over to the workers of iniquity.

Cf. *Psalm xiv.* 1 :

They are corrupt, they have done abominable works ;
There is none that doeth good.

So in *The Complaint of Khekheperre-Sonbu :*

There is none free from transgression,
And all men alike are doing it.

In *The Complaint of the Peasant* he addresses the High Steward :

Thou art the father of the orphan,
The husband of the widow.

Cf. *Psalm lxviii.* 5 :

A father of the fatherless and a judge of the widows
Is God in His holy habitation.

In a *Hymn to Osiris* we read :

All people were happy, cheerful of mind, and with glad hearts ;
All men cried out for joy, and all people adored his goodness ;
' How deeply we love him ! His goodness traverseth the hearts,
And great in all is the love of him ! '

Cf. *Psalm cvii.* 8 :

O that men would praise Jehovah for His lovingkindness,
And for His wonderful works to the children of men.

In *The Teaching of Amenophis* the good man is described :

The truly tranquil man, he setteth himself aside ;
He is like a tree grown in a plot ;
It grows green, it doubles its yield,
It stands in the presence of its lord,
Its fruit is sweet, its shade is pleasant,
And its end is reached in the garden.

Cf. *Psalm i.* 3 :

He shall be like a tree planted by the streams of water ;
That bringeth forth its fruit in its season ;
Whose leaf also doth not wither.

And *Jeremiah xvii.* 8 :

He shall be as a tree planted by the waters,
That spreadeth out its roots by the river,
And shall not fear when heat cometh,
But its leaf shall be green ;
And shall not be careful in the year of drought,
Neither shall cease from yielding fruit.

And again :

How happy is he who hath reached the west
When he is safe in the hand of God.

Cf. *Psalm xvi.* 11 :

In Thy presence is fullness of joy ;
In Thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore.

And *Psalm lxxiii.* 26 :

God is the strength of my heart
And my portion for ever.

For many of the above parallels I am indebted to Mace's article mentioned above, and to Dr. Blackman's appendix in Simpson's *Psalmists*. 'I am as when they have gathered the summer fruits'; but I have added a few gleanings of my own to their harvest. Enough has been said to show a close relation between the Psalms and the religious poems of Egypt; so that, as Dr. Blackman says, 'It can almost be said that the songs of Sion were being sung in a strange land before they were sung in Sion herself.'

4. The Song of Solomon.

Love-songs are much alike all the world over; but there are indications that the author of the Song of Songs was acquainted with such Egyptian lyrics as are contained in the specimens given in Erman's *Lit. of the Anc. Egyptians* (pp. 243 ff.). In both, the lover's mistress is called 'sister'; in both there is a profusion of references to fruits and flowers, and to all kinds of fragrant ointments; in both, in spite of the frank descriptions of physical charms, the tone, as Erman points out, is 'markedly decent'; and the comparison of the lady to 'a horse among Pharaoh's chariots' (i. 9) suggests an Egyptian source. The mention of Tirzah (vi. 4) in parallelism to Jerusalem implies that the song was composed whilst Tirzah was still the capital of the Northern Kingdom. Now Omri, after reigning at Tirzah six years, shifted his capital to Samaria (1 Kings xvi. 23), so that Tirzah was the capital from 937 to 881 B.C. This would indicate that there

was literary contact between Israel and Egypt during the first fifty years of the Northern Kingdom.

5. The Wisdom Literature

Happily, a number of Egyptian ethical treatises have been preserved. From the Middle Kingdom we have *The Instruction of Ptahhotep*, *The Instruction of Kagemni*, *The Instruction of Duauf*, *The Instruction for King Merikere*, *The Complaint of the Misanthrope*, *The Admonitions of a Sage*, *The Complaint of Khekheperre-Sonbu*, and *The Complaints of a Peasant*. From the New Kingdom date a collection of *Maxims for Schoolboys*, *The Wisdom of Ani*, and *The Teaching of Amenophis, the Son of Kanakht*, discovered by Budge in 1888, and published in translation by Griffith in *Journ. of Egypt. Archaeology*, October 1926. Mace, in the article already referred to, says: 'In these Egyptian documents there are to be found . . . extraordinarily close parallels to the Old Testament writings; so close indeed that it is hard to escape from the conclusion that the Hebrews deliberately modelled their Wisdom Books on Egyptian patterns of similar works, and even appropriated much of their contents.'

The opening words of *Ptahhotep* are almost identical with Prov. i. 1, and Mace quotes fifteen passages from him which are practically paraphrased in Proverbs. Space forbids a full list here, but a few of the most striking examples may be given:

Ptahhotep vi. 11:

If thou art one of a company seated to eat in the house of a man who is greater than thyself, take what he giveth thee (without remark).

Cf. *Proverbs xxiii.* 1 :

When thou sittest to eat with a ruler,
Consider diligently what is before thee ;
And put a knife to thy throat
If thou be a man given to appetite.

Ptahhotep ix. 7–13 :

Beware of approaching the women. A thousand men are undone for the enjoyment of a brief moment like a dream. Men only gain death for knowing them.

Cf. *Proverbs vii.* 25 :

Let not thy heart decline to her ways.
Her house is the way to Sheol,
Going down to the chambers of death.

Ptahhotep x. 8–12 :

Love thy wife in husbandly embrace, fill her body, clothe her back. . . . Gladden her heart as long as thou livest.

Cf. *Proverbs v.* 18 :

Let thy fountain be blessed,
And rejoice in the wife of thy youth.

Ptahhotep xi. 5 :

Repeat not a word of (hearsay).

Cf. *Proverbs xi.* 13 :

He that goeth about as a tale-bearer revealeth secrets ;
But he that is of a faithful spirit concealeth a matter.

Ptahhotep xiv. 12 :

Let thy face be bright as long as thou livest.

Cf. *Proverbs xv.* 13 :

A glad heart maketh a cheerful countenance.

Ptahhotep xvi. 3–12 :

How good it is when a son receives that which his father says. He shall reach advanced age thereby.

Cf. *Proverbs iii.* 1 :

My son, forget not my law ;
But let thy heart keep my commandments ;
For length of days, and years of life,
And peace, will they add to thee.

Ptahhotep xvii. 4 :

The wise man rises early to establish himself, while the fool is scourged.

Cf. *Proverbs x.* 13 :

In the lips of him that hath discernment wisdom is found ;
But a rod is for the back of him that is void of understanding.

Kaghemni :

Rage not against the meat in the presence of a (host) ; take when he giveth thee, and refuse it not.

Cf. *Proverbs xxiii.* 1 (*see above*).

Amenhemhet :

In the day of adversity a man hath no adherents.

Cf. *Proverbs xix.* 7 :

All the brethren of the poor do hate him ;
How much more do his friends go far from him.

Merikere :

The power of a man is the tongue, and speech is mightier than any fighting.

Cf. *Proverbs xviii.* 21 :

Death and life are in the power of the tongue ;
And they that love it shall eat the fruit thereof.

Merikere :

Expel no man from the possessions of his father.

Cf. *Proverbs xxiii.* 10 :

Remove not the ancient landmark ;
And enter not into the fields of the fatherless.

The Wisdom of Ani :

Beware of a strange woman. . . . Wink not at her, have no carnal knowledge of her. She is a deep water whose winding men know not. The woman whose husband is far away, ' I am beautiful,' says she to thee every day. . . . For a man takes up every sin after this one.

Cf. *Proverbs vi.* 24 :

Keep thee from the evil woman,
From the flattery of the stranger's tongue.

And *Proverbs v.* 6 :

She findeth not the level path of life ;
Her ways are unstable and she knoweth it not.

And *Proverbs vii.* 19 :

Let us solace ourselves with loves ;
For my husband is not at home ;
He is gone a long journey.

The Wisdom of Ani:

Boast not that you can drink a jug of beer. Thou speakest, and an unintelligible utterance issueth from thy mouth. If thou fallest down and thy limbs break, there is none to hold out a hand to thee. Thy companions in drink stand up and say, 'Away with this sot!' If there cometh one to seek thee in order to question thee, thou art found lying on the ground, and thou art like a little child.

Cf. *Proverbs xxiii.* 29:

Who hath woe? Who hath sorrow? Who hath contentions?
They that go to seek out mixed wine.
Thine eyes shall behold strange things,
And thy heart shall utter perverse things.
Yea, thou shalt be as he that lieth down in the midst of the sea;
Or as he that lieth upon the top of a mast;
'They have stricken me, and I was not hurt;
They have beaten me, and I felt it not.'

The Wisdom of Ani:

A man falleth in ruin because of his tongue.

Cf. *Proverbs xiii.* 3:

He that guardeth his mouth keepeth his life;
He that openeth wide his lips shall have destruction.

And *Proverbs xviii.* 7:

A fool's mouth is his destruction,
And his lips are the snare of his soul.

The Wisdom of Ani:

When thou . . . takest to thee a wife, keep before thee how thy mother gave birth to thee.

Cf. *Proverbs xxiii.* 22 :

Hearken unto thy father that begat thee,
And despise not thy mother when she is old.

The Wisdom of Ani :

Answer not a superior who is enraged. Say what is sweet, when he saith what is bitter to any one, and make calm his heart.

Cf. *Proverbs xv.* 1 :

A soft answer turneth away wrath.

The Wisdom of Ani :

Seek out silence for thyself.

Cf. *Proverbs xvii.* 28 :

Even a fool when he holdeth his peace is counted wise.

And *Proverbs x.* 19 :

He that refraineth his lips doeth wisely.

Maxims for Schoolboys :

The ear of the boy is on his back, and he hearkeneth when he is beaten.

Cf. *Proverbs xiii.* 24 :

He that spareth his rod hateth his son.

And *Proverbs xxiii.* 13 :

Withhold not correction from the child ;
If thou beat him with the rod, he will not die.

Maxims for Schoolboys :

Wine is an abomination.

Cf. *Proverbs xx.* 1 :

Wine is a mocker, strong drink a brawler.

Maxims for Schoolboys :

Art thou an ass that is led, for it hath no understanding in its body ?

Cf. *Proverbs xxvi.* 3 :

A whip for the horse, a bridle for the ass,
And a rod for the back of fools.

Teaching of Amenophis vi. :

Better is bread with happy heart than riches with strife.

Cf. *Proverbs xvii.* 1 :

Better is a dry morsel and quietness therewith,
Than a house full of feasting with strife.

Teaching of Amenophis vii. :

Speak not to man in falsehood, the abomination of God.

Cf. *Proverbs xii.* 22 :

Lying lips are an abomination to Jehovah.

Teaching of Amenophis x. :

One is safe in the hand of God.

Cf. *Proverbs xvi.* 3 :

> Commit thy works unto Jehovah,
> And thy purposes shall be established.

Teaching of Amenophis xiii. :

Better is the praise and love of men than riches in a storehouse.

Cf. *Proverbs xvi.* 8 :

> Better is a little with righteousness,
> Than great revenues with injustice.

Teaching of Amenophis xvii. :

Make not for thyself a bushel-measure of two capacities.

Cf. *Proverbs xx.* 23 :

> Diverse weights are an abomination to Jehovah ;
> And a false balance is not good.

Teaching of Amenophis xviii. :

The words which men say are one thing ; the things which God doeth are another.

Cf. *Proverbs xvi.* 9 :

> A man's heart deviseth his way ;
> But Jehovah directeth his steps.

Teaching of Amenophis xxi. :

Say not, ' Find me a redeemer, for a man who hateth me hath injured me.' Sit thee down at the hands of God ; thy tranquillity will overthrow them.

Cf. *Proverbs xx.* 22 :

> Say not thou, I will recompense evil ;
> Wait for Jehovah, and He will save thee.

Teaching of Amenophis xxi. :

Empty not thine inmost soul to everybody . . . nor associate to thyself one who lays bare his heart.

Cf. *Proverbs xx.* 19 :

> Company not with him that openeth wide his lips.

Teaching of Amenophis xxi. :

Better is a man that hides his report within himself than he who tells a thing to disadvantage.

Cf. *Proverbs xii.* 23 :

> A prudent man concealeth knowledge ;
> But the heart of fools proclaimeth foolishness.

Teaching of Amenophis xxx. :

See for thyself these thirty chapters ; they please, they educate.

Cf. *Proverbs xxii.* 20 :

Have I not written unto thee excellent things of counsel and knowledge?

The word translated in R.V. ' excellent things ' and in margin ' heretofore ' is rendered by Erman ' thirty things ' ; and he takes it to refer to the section Prov. xxii. 17 to xxiv. 22, which, as Sellin and Gressman have shown, falls naturally into thirty paragraphs, corresponding, both in number and in general order, to the

thirty chapters of *The Teaching of Amenophis*. As Simpson points out: 'The inference that almost the whole of this section is ultimately derived from *The Teaching of Amenophis* would appear to be irresistible'; and he dates it in the latter days of the monarchy. It is noteworthy that there are no references to *The Teaching of Amenophis* in the introductory section of Proverbs (chaps. i.–ix.), nor in the last two chapters (xxx. and xxxi.); and it is generally agreed that these sections are the latest part of the book, and were not added until after the Exile. Hence we may conclude that it was during the later centuries of the monarchy that the Egyptian ethical treatises became known to the Hebrews and largely influenced the authors of the Book of Proverbs; and we know that the main part of the book was compiled before and during the reign of Hezekiah (Prov. xxv. 1).

Ecclesiastes.—As Mace has shown, there are clear reminiscences in Ecclesiastes of *The Complaint of Khekheperre-Sonbu* and of *The Song of the Harper*.

Khekheperre:

I wring out my mind for what is in it, in dislodging all that I say; for it is but to repeat what has been said when what has already been said has been said. From the first generation unto that which cometh after—they are like that which is past.

Cf. *Ecclesiastes i.* 9:

That which hath been is that which shall be; and that which hath been done is that which shall be done; and there is no new thing under the sun. There is no remembrance of the former generations; neither shall there be any remembrance of the latter generations that are to come.

Khekheperre :

Would that I might know what others have not known, even what has not been repeated, that I might speak them and that my heart might answer me.

Cf. *Ecclesiastes i.* 13 :

I applied my heart to seek and to search out by wisdom concerning all that is done under heaven.

Khekheperre :

Righteousness is cast out, iniquity is in the midst of the Council hall. The plans of the gods are violated, their dispositions are disregarded.

Cf. *Ecclesiastes iii.* 16 :

I saw under the sun, in the place of justice, that wickedness was there ; and in the place of righteousness, that wickedness was there.

The Song of the Harper :

Bodies pass away and others remain.

Cf. *Ecclesiastes i.* 4 :

One generation goeth, and another generation cometh.

The Song of the Harper :

None cometh from thence that he may tell us how they fare ; that he may tell us of their fortunes.

Cf. *Ecclesiastes iii.* 22 :

Who shall bring him back to see what shall be after him ?

The Song of the Harper :

While thou livest, put myrrh upon thy head and garments on thee of fine linen, imbued with marvellous luxuries, the genuine things of the gods ; the sister who dwells in thy heart, she sits at thy side.

Cf. *Ecclesiastes ix.* 7 :

Go thy way, eat thy bread with joy, and drink thy wine with a merry heart. . . . Let thy garments be always white, and let not thy head lack oil. Live joyfully with the wife whom thou lovest.

The Song of the Harper :

Follow thy desire and thy good ; fashion thine affairs on earth after the mandates of thine heart, until that day of lamentation cometh to thee, when the silent-hearted hears not their lamentation, nor he that is in the tomb attends the mourning.

Cf. *Ecclesiastes ix.* 10 :

Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might ; for there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom in Sheol, whither thou goest.

The Song of the Harper :

Lo, no man taketh his goods with him ; yea, none returneth again that is gone thither.

Cf. *Ecclesiastes v.* 15 :

As he came forth from his mother's womb, naked shall he go again as he came, and shall take nothing for his labour which he may carry away in his hand.

There are also some parallels to the older literature. Thus the description of old age in *Ptahhotep* resembles closely Eccles. xii. 1–8. In *The Admonitions of a Sage* (second poem) a long string of contrasts is presented, of which one may serve as a type: 'Behold, the poor of the land have become rich; he that possessed something is now one that hath nothing.' Cf. Eccles. x. 6. 'Folly is set in great dignity, and the rich sit in a low place.' And his practical conclusion, 'Spend thy possessions in joy and without holding thee back. It is good for a man to eat his food which God assigneth to him whom he praiseth' is the same as that of Eccles. ix. 7–9. The references in x. 1 to the manufacture of perfumes, and in xi. 1 to the sowing of seed on the waters of the Nile inundation, suggest that the writer knew Egypt, and possibly enough lived there.

Deuteronomy.—Dr. Oesterley, in his recent book *The Wisdom of Egypt and the Old Testament*, has dealt fully with the relations between *The Teaching of Amenophis* (or, as he prefers to call him, Amen-em-ope) and the literature of the Old Testament. He calls special attention to certain parallels with Deuteronomy, which are interesting because it seems clear that it was in the later days of the monarchy that Israel came into contact with the Egyptian wisdom-books; and it is generally agreed that Deuteronomy was written during that period. Some of these parallels may be quoted here, with due thanks to Dr. Oesterley.

Amenophis II. iv. 4:

Beware of robbing the poor and of oppressing the weak.

Deuteronomy xxiv. 14 :

Thou shalt not oppress a hired servant that is poor and needy.

Amenophis V. vi. 16 :

Remove not a servant of God in order to benefit another.

Deuteronomy xii. 19 :

Take heed to thyself that thou forsake not the Levite as long as thou livest in thy land.

Amenophis VI. vii. 12 :

Remove not the landmark at the boundary of the field.

Deuteronomy xix. 14 :

Thou shalt not remove thy neighbour's landmark.

Amenophis VIII. xi. 6 :

Cry not ' crime ' at a man ; hide the manner of a fugitive's flight.

Deuteronomy xxiii. 15 :

Thou shalt not deliver unto his master a servant that is escaped from his master unto thee.

Amenophis XIII. xvi. 1 :

Be not a witness with false words, and turn not aside another by means of thy tongue.

Deuteronomy xix. 18 :

If the witness be a false witness and have testified falsely against his brother, then shall ye do unto him as he had thought to do unto his brother.

Amenophis XVI. xvii. 18 :

Move not the scales and falsify not the weights and diminish not the parts of the corn-measure. Make not weights for thyself that are too light.

Deuteronomy xxv. 13 :

Thou shalt not have in thy bag diverse weights, a great and a small. Thou shalt not have in thy house diverse measures, a great and a small. A perfect and just weight thou shalt have ; a perfect and just measure shalt thou have.

Amenophis XX. xx. 21 :

Bring no man into misfortune in a court of justice, and disturb not the just man. Be not influenced by fine clothes, and refuse him that is in rags. Receive no gift from one who is powerful, and oppress not the poor for his benefit.

Deuteronomy xvi. 19 :

Thou shalt not wrest justice ; thou shalt not respect persons ; neither shalt thou take a bribe.

Amenophis XXV. xxiv. 9 :

Laugh not at a blind man.

Deuteronomy xxvii. 18 :

Cursed be he that maketh the blind to wander out of the way.

It is only fair to say that Dr. Oesterley is rather disposed to think that the Egyptian writers were influenced by the Hebrew ideas ; but in the light of all the above parallels I find it hard to resist the conclusion that the Egyptian wisdom-books became familiar to the Hebrews in the ninth and eighth centuries B.C., and were the source of some at least of their thoughts and expressions.

Job.—In the Book of Job the references to Egypt are so numerous that it seems not improbable that the author may have been a member of one of the Jewish communities that were formed in Egypt after the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar. The story of Job's misfortunes recalls the picture in *The Misanthrope*, or, as it is more fully named, *The Dispute with his Soul of One who is Tired of Life.* The Misanthrope has fallen from prosperity to ruin, has been deserted by his friends and smitten with disease. He describes how his name is abhorred 'more than the odour of carrion'; his brothers are evil; friends of to-day, they are not lovable. 'I am laden,' he cries, 'with misery, and lack a trusty friend.' His only hope is in death, which is 'as when a man returneth from the war unto his home.' Like Job (xix. 25), he believes that the righteous judgement of the gods will finally exculpate him; 'Thoth will judge me. . . . Khons will defend me, Ra will hearken unto my words.' In Job, the vindication of the sufferer forms a sequel to the story which is not found in the Egyptian narrative; otherwise *The Misanthrope* follows the main lines of Job much more closely than the so-called Babylonian Job to which Jastrow has called attention.

The author shows a familiar acquaintance with Egypt which could hardly have been obtained without some time of residence in that country. When he says (xii. 15), 'He witholdeth the waters and they dry up; again he sendeth them out and they overflow the land,' he is obviously thinking of the fall and rise of the Nile. He asks, 'Will the papyrus rise up proudly without

mire? Will the reed-grass (Eg. *achu*) grow without water?' (viii. 11). The hippopotamus 'lieth under the lotus-trees, in the covert of the papyrus and the swamp' (xl. 21); and Driver translates verse 23: 'Behold, if the river falleth he is not alarmed; he is confident, though the stream burst forth'—i.e. whether the Nile rises or falls, he remains unalarmed. The days of the sufferer 'shoot along like skiffs of reed,' or papyrus, such as were common on the Nile (ix. 26). His fauna are those of the Nile valley; he speaks of the rapid swoop of the vulture (ix. 26); the poison of cobras and asps (xx. 16); the howling of jackals (xxx. 29); the lions hunting for their prey (xxxviii. 39). Of the animals mentioned in chaps. xxxix.–xli., the wild goat of the rock is the ibex, which was common in the hills and is represented in the monuments as being captured by hand or by the lasso; the wild ass, or onager, of Abyssinia and North Africa is the parent of the domestic animal; the wild ox, or reem (most unfortunately rendered by unicorn in the A.V.), was well known in Egypt, and was the type of great strength and resistless power; wild bulls were kept for the bull-fights, of which we have pictures in the monuments; the ostrich (wrongly rendered peacock in the A.V.) though now rarely met with in Egypt, was formerly common as far north as Suez; the horse appears to have been introduced into Egypt by the Hyksos immigrants, but during the later dynasties it was extensively bred for warlike purposes, and it was to Egypt that Solomon sent for horses for his war-chariots (cf. Isa. xxxi. 1); they are conspicuous in the representations

of the fight between Rameses II and the Hittites; the hawk, or falcon, was the symbol of Horus, and the vulture (not eagle) was the symbol of the goddess Mut.

The *behemoth* of chap. xl. is unquestionably the hippopotamus; though this animal is not now found north of Aswan, it was formerly common in the lower course of the Nile and the Delta. The leviathan of chap. xli. is the crocodile. Like the hippopotamus, it was formerly much more abundant than it is at present, in Lower Egypt. Both these huge creatures were worshipped as gods; hence the pointed statement in Gen. i. 21: 'God created the great sea-monsters,' where probably 'sea' is used, as so often, in the sense of 'the Nile.' It is worth noting that in Ps. civ., which, as we have seen, has remarkable resemblances to the *Hymn of Aten*, the animals mentioned are most of them those that find a place in these chapters of Job: the wild asses (verse 11), the hippopotamus (14), though here probably *behemah* means, as the R.V. translates it, 'cattle'; the wild goats (18), the lions (21), and the crocodile (26).

The description of mining operations in chap. xxviii. is, again, derived from the author's knowledge of the copper and turquoise mines in the Wady Maghara, in the Sinaitic peninsula, and of the gold mines of Coptos and of Nubia; for there was little or no mining in Palestine. The sinking of shafts, the provision for keeping water out of the workings, the washing out of the gold, and the smelting of copper ore, are all vividly depicted. The metals and precious stones enumerated

in this chapter were all familiar in Egypt. It is not known whence the Egyptians got their silver and iron, but both these metals were used by them. Gold they got from their own mines, and the materials for bronze from the mines in the Sinaitic region. Wherever Ophir may have been, the phrase 'gold of Ophir' (cf. xxii. 24) appears simply to mean the finest gold. The onyx (*shoham*) was obtained from Havilah (Gen. ii. 11), probably in north-east Arabia; the sapphire, or, more probably, the lapis lazuli, was used for the enamelling of which the tombs have furnished such magnificent examples, and came from the Wady Maghara; glass was manufactured, and was highly valued; coral and pearls were obtained from the Red Sea; quartz crystals from the mines; and the topaz from Ethiopia. The falcon and the lion are again mentioned (verses 7 and 8); and the general analogy of the whole chapter to chaps. xl. and xli. has led some commentators to believe that it has been displaced, and should rather come in between verses 15 and 16 of chap. xl. In any case, it betrays the author's intimate knowledge of things Egyptian.

The author's astronomy is again best explained from Egyptian sources. In ix. 9 he speaks of the Bear, Orion, the Pleiades, and the chambers of the south; and in xxxviii. 31 of the Pleiades, Orion, the Mazzaroth, and the Bear, with her sons. Amos also knows the Pleiades and Orion (v. 8). The Bear (Heb. *Ghayish*) is probably the constellation known to us as the Great Bear, or Charles's Wain; the Egyptians called it *Maskhait*, the Haunch; the four stars forming the body of the Wain are the Bear and the three forming the shaft her sons.

Orion (Heb. *Kesil*) is the Egyptian *Sahu*, the wild hunter. The Pleiades (Heb. *Kimah*) is doubtfully identified with the nebular group of that name; but it more likely means Canis Major, which includes the Dog-star (Sirius, or Sothis), the soul of Isis, as Orion was the soul of Horus, whose first appearance in the morning sky determined the beginning of the year, and whose rising exactly with the sun on July 19 or 20 fixed the Sothic Period of 1,460 years, so important for Egyptian chronology. The difficult phrase 'the chambers of the south' is variously interpreted as meaning the constellations which, like the Southern Cross, first appeared to travellers journeying southward; or 'the chambers of the Twins,' or Gemini, known to the Greeks as Castor and Pollux; or possibly, by a slight alteration of the text, 'Hedir and the Twins.' The Mazzaroth may mean the planets, or the signs of the Zodiac.

In the Egyptian calendar, a large number of days were specified as lucky or unlucky, either generally or for certain specific acts. These were determined both on mythological and astrological considerations. To this our author refers (iii. 8): 'Let them curse it' (the day of my birth) 'that ban the day, who are ready to rouse up the Crocodile,' i.e. the constellation of the Crocodile or Monster which produced eclipses by swallowing the sun and moon. This same Monster is probably meant by 'the helpers of Rahab' (ix. 13). The same constellation and that of the Serpent are also mentioned in xxvi. 12, where it is said of the Almighty, 'By His understanding He smote through Rahab . . .

His hand pierceth the flying serpent' (cf. Isa. li. 9; Ps. lxxxix. 10).

The accounts of the Creation in chaps. xxvi. and xxxviii. present many analogies to Egyptian cosmogony. The fight between Ra and the primitive monster of the slime, Apopi, called by the author of Job 'Rahab' and 'the fleeing serpent'; the separation of the earth from the sky and its support on the pillars of heaven; the singing together of the morning stars (the Baboons) on the morning of creation; the conception of the underworld (Sheol) as 'a land of gloom like blackness, of dense darkness and disorder, and where the shining is as blackness' (x. 22), with its gates and gatekeepers (xxxviii. 17)—all these ideas are drawn from Egyptian sources. It is true that they have their counterparts in Babylonian cosmogonies, for both have a common primitive origin in the traditions of the Semite races; but it is far more likely that our author learned them in Egypt than from Babylon.

Some other allusions to matters Egyptian may be mentioned in the order in which they occur in the book. The Pyramids are almost certainly referred to in iii. 14: 'I should have slept with kings and counsellors of the earth, who built *choraboth* for themselves'; where *choraboth* is probably a corruption of *charamoth*, pyramids. In iii. 18 the mention of taskmasters recalls the story of the slavery of Israel in Egypt. The story of the dream of Eliphaz (iv. 13) reminds us of the significance attached by the Egyptians to dreams, as illustrated in the tale of Joseph. The formation of man from clay (x. 9) is paralleled by the myth of the moulding

of man on the potter's wheel by Khnumu. The east wind, or sirocco, of xv. 1, xxvii. 21, is the dreaded south-east wind which blows from the middle of February to the middle of June, 'filling the air and covering the plants with dust.' When Job wishes that his words were 'graven in the rock for ever,' he is thinking of the inscriptions which covered the façades of the Egyptian temples (xix. 23). The timbrel, lyre, and flute of xxi. 12 are familiar from the monuments. The cutting off of men 'as the tops of the ears of grain' (xxiv. 24) agrees with the Egyptian method of reaping, as illustrated in the monuments. But enough has been said to show a familiar acquaintance with Egypt on the part of the author of Job, which can hardly be accounted for except on the hypothesis that he was resident in that country. The occurrence in the book of several Egyptian words and idioms, enumerated by Hertz (*O. L. Z.*, xvi. 343), confirms this view. On the whole the evidence points to Egypt as the place where the book was written; and the date suggested by Driver and Gray (*Int. Crit. Comm.*), namely, the fifth century B.C., would be entirely suitable.

6. The Prophets

In the prophecies about Egypt in Isa. xviii., xix., and xx.; in Jer. xliii., xliv., and xlvi.; and in Ezek. xxix.–xxxii, there are many allusions to the topography, history, and customs of Egypt which demonstrate the accurate knowledge of Egyptian matters in Israel during the two centuries preceding the

Exile ; these can be easily verified, and there is no need to mention them in detail.

The Prophetic Literature.—The prophetic canon of the Hebrews included the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings, as well as those of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve, commonly but unfortunately known to us as the Minor Prophets. The historical books owe little to Egypt except the institution of an official recorder. Jehoshaphat the son of Ahilud held this office in the Court of David (2 Sam. viii. 16) and was continued in his office by Solomon (1 Kings iv. 3). Joah, the son of Asaph, was the recorder in Hezekiah's reign (2 Kings xviii. 18), and another Joah, the son of Joahaz, in the reign of Josiah (2 Chron. xxxiv. 8). Doubtless each of the kings had such an officer, and it is to these men that we owe the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah and of Israel which are frequently referred to as authorities in the Book of Kings. From the earliest times there was such an officer in the Court of the Pharaohs, known as 'The Superintendent of the Scribes'; and it is more than probable that it was in imitation of this that David appointed a similar officer in his own Court. Otherwise the Jewish historians owed little to Egypt, except perhaps the tendency to select for fuller treatment stories which grouped themselves round the personal achievements of the monarch.

Turning to the Prophets, more properly so-called, the essential part of their message was the prediction of the coming of the righteous King, the Messiah, or Anointed, of Jehovah, who would restore prosperity and freedom

to Israel and establish a Kingdom of God upon earth. The delivery of this message involved the denunciation of those national sins which at once called for His coming, and at the same time delayed it. It has been suggested by Lange and Meyer that the origin of the Messianic idea is to be found in a passage in *The Admonitions of a Sage*, whose name appears to have been Ipuwer. The whole document, which dates from at least 2000 B.C., may be read in Erman's *Lit. of Anc. Egyptians*, pp. 92 ff. (English edition). After describing in detail the terrible condition of the country, the author predicts the coming of a deliverer in the following words (I adopt Gardiner's translation): 'He bringeth coolness upon that which is hot. It is said, He is the herdsman of mankind. No evil is in his heart. When his herds are few, he passes the day to gather them together, their hearts being on fire (?). Would that he had perceived their nature in the first generation (of men). Then he would have repressed evils, he would have stretched forth his arm against it, he would have destroyed their seed and their inheritance. A fighter (?) goes forth that he may destroy the wrongs that they have brought about. There is no pilot (?) in their moment. Where is he to-day? Is he sleeping? Behold his might is not seen.' It must be admitted that this is very vague, and can hardly be interpreted as a definite anticipation of the coming of a deliverer. A more definite prediction is found in *The Prophecy of Neferrohu*, which dates from about 2000 B.C. and is given in full in Erman (p. 110). The prophet begins with a description of the land 'in lamentation and

distress.' He goes on: 'A king shall come from the south, called Ameni' (i.e. Amenhemhet I), 'the son of a woman of Nubia, and born in Upper Egypt. He shall receive the white crown and wear the red crown; he shall unite the two powerful diadems, and shall delight the two Lords' (i.e. Horus and Seth, the gods of the two divisions of Egypt) 'with what they love. Be glad, ye people of his time. The son of a man will make himself a name for all eternity. They that would work mischief and devise hostility, they have subdued their utterances for fear of him. The Asiatics shall fall before his carnage, and the Libyans shall fall before his flame. The foes succumb to his onset, and the rebels to his might. The royal serpent that is on his forehead, it pacifieth for him the rebels. . . . And Right shall come again into its place, and Iniquity—that is cast forth. He shall rejoice who shall behold this, and who shall then serve the king.' There are some superficial resemblances between this and the Messianic prophecies of the Hebrew writers; but it seems clear that it is not so much a prophecy as the expression of a pious and patriotic aspiration as to the activities of Amenhemhet I, and it was probably written after he had ascended the throne. There is nothing in either of these passages to account for the unique and magnificent utterances of Isaiah or Jeremiah or the rest of the Hebrew seers. They can only be explained as the result of the direct inspiration of the Holy Spirit, and they stand absolutely alone in the literature of the world. Gardiner, the editor of Ipuwer, says, 'There is no certain or even likely trace of prophecies in any part of the book,' and

he adds, 'There is too much uncertainty about the matter for it to be made the basis of any far-reaching conclusions as to the influence of Egyptian upon Hebrew literature.' Mace will only say that these fragments, and possibly others that have perished, may have been 'the means of suggesting to the prophets a mode of expression which their inspired genius was to put to such wonderful use.'

To summarize our conclusions, then, as to the influence of Egyptian language and literature upon the Hebrews:

(1) The Hebrews owed their alphabet and a small number of words, chiefly proper names, to Egypt; but neither their grammar nor their vocabulary was affected to any considerable extent by their intercourse with that country.

(2) The early stories of Gen. i.–xi. belong to the primitive Semitic folk-lore, and show more analogies to the Babylonian than to the Egyptian forms which it took.

(3) The parallelism, characteristic of Hebrew poetry, and its rhythmic structure, are probably due to Egyptian influence.

(4) There is evidence that some at least of the Hebrew Psalmists, especially those of the post-exilic period, knew the Egyptian hymns, and borrowed from them to a considerable extent.

(5) It can hardly be questioned that the wisdom-literature of Egypt was well known in Palestine during the time of the kings, and inspired both the form and the matter of Proverbs, Job, and Ecclesiastes, and of the Song of Songs.

(6) There is little or no trace of any influence of Egyptian literature upon either the historians or prophets of Israel.

7. The Septuagint Version

It would be unpardonable to omit, in the consideration of the influence of Egypt on Jewish literature, some brief mention of the Greek version of the Old Testament known as the Septuagint, or LXX. The story of its origin, as told in *The Letter of Aristeas*, is too well known to need more than a short summary here. According to this letter, Ptolemy Philadelphos (285–47 B.C.) wanted a translation of the Hebrew Law into Greek for his library at Alexandria, and sent for a copy of it to Jerusalem. Seventy-two Jewish scholars were deputed to bring it to Alexandria, and there translated it in seventy-two days. The details with which Aristeas embroiders his narrative are doubtless imaginary, but the version was certainly made at Alexandria; whether, as is quite possible, at the request of Ptolemy, or to meet the needs of the large Jewish community there. The Pentateuch was translated first, probably about 250 B.C., and the work was completed, as may be inferred from the prologue to Ecclesiasticus, soon after the thirty-eighth year of Ptolemy Euergetes, 132 B.C.

This version is of great value for many reasons. It is of importance to the Textual Criticism of the Old Testament, because it was made from a Hebrew text 1,000 years older than our oldest MS. of the Hebrew Bible, and at least 500 years older than the formation of the Massoretic text, which is that of the ordinary printed copies. Hence it both confirms the general accuracy of the Massoretic text and supplies material

for its emendation in many passages. Further, it is written in the dialect of Greek which was in common use in Egypt, and, indeed, throughout the Mediterranean countries, during the three centuries before and after Christ. In this so-called *Koiné*, or vernacular Greek, the New Testament was written ; and from the knowledge of it, derived from the LXX and the papyri which have been discovered in such numbers in Egypt during the last half-century, it is possible to interpret many words and phrases in the New Testament, long misunderstood because they had been studied in the light of classical Greek only. Further, it was the Bible of our Lord and of the early Christian Church ; and so it has largely influenced both the thought and expression of the New Testament writers and the early Fathers. Moreover, it was from the LXX that the Old Latin, the Coptic, the Ethiopic (probably), the Armenian, and the Georgian versions of the Old Testament were translated ; and it had a considerable influence on the Syriac and the Vulgate versions.

It is, again, to the LXX that we owe the preservation of the Apocrypha of the Old Testament, though some of these works were originally written in Hebrew. For example, it has been plausibly suggested that First Esdras (adopting the numeration of the English version) was written in Egypt at the time when Onias was petitioning Ptolemy Philometor for leave to build a temple at Leontopolis for the Jews in Egypt, the remains of which have been recently unearthed by Petrie at Tell el Yehudiyeh. This was about 160 B.C. The author may well have thought that the story of the

help given by the Persian kings in the building of the Temple at Jerusalem would form a precedent for a similar action on the part of Ptolemy ; and there are one or two passages which have a distinctly Egyptian colouring. Second Esdras, chaps. i., ii., xv., and xvi. were probably added to the book by a Christian Jew of Alexandria about A.D. 260. The Book of Wisdom appears to have been written by ' an Alexandrian Jew of cultivated intelligence who was familiar with the Old Testament in the LXX version, and who had some acquaintance with Greek literature and philosophy ' (Farrar in *Speaker's Commentary*). The translation of the original Hebrew of Ecclesiasticus, or the Wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach, was made, as its author tells us, in Egypt ' in the eight and thirtieth year of Euergetes the King,' i.e. 132 B.C. if Euergetes II (Physcon) is intended. It was written by his grandfather in Hebrew, and, as he found the book in Egypt, it was most likely in Egypt that Jesus wrote it, about a century before it was translated into Greek. There are many indications that the author knew something of the Egyptian wisdom-literature. The Second Book of Maccabees claims to be the epitome of a book by Jason of Cyrene ; it was probably made by an orthodox Alexandrian Jew about the middle of the first century B.C.

It is thus clear that there was considerable literary activity amongst the Jews who were settled in Egypt and especially in Alexandria, during the four centuries B.C. ; and we owe something to Egypt for having found a home for these exiles and afforded them liberty of thought and expression.

PART IV

ARTS AND CRAFTS

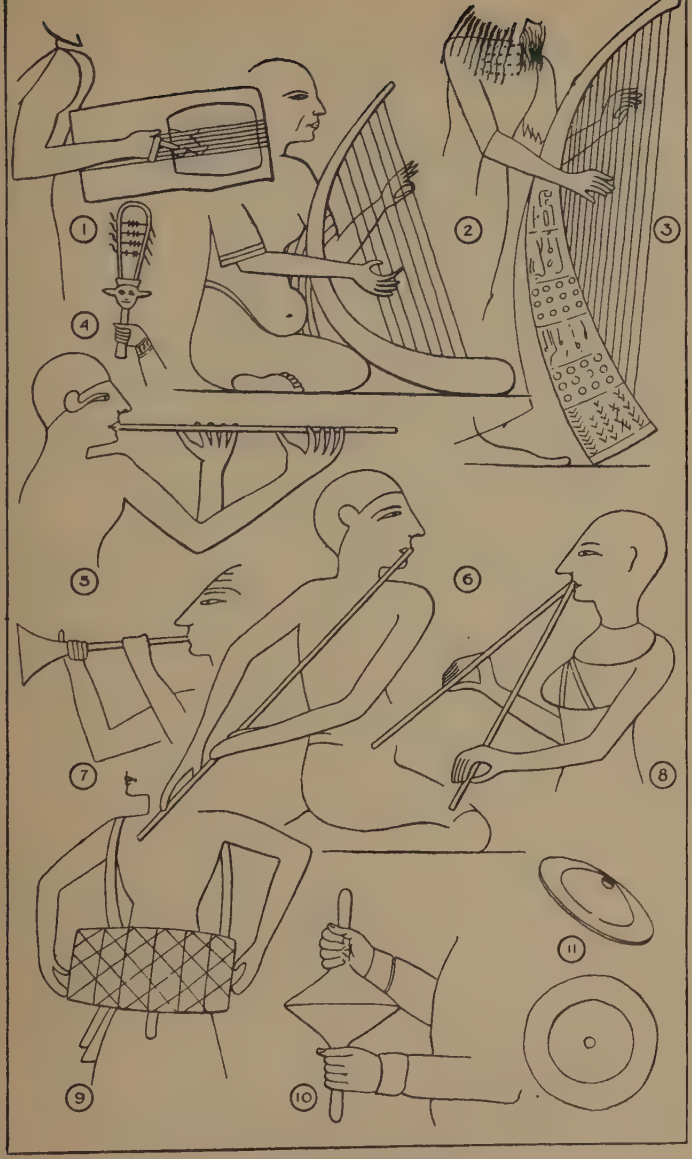
ARTS AND CRAFTS

The ordinary crafts were practised with a high degree of efficiency both in the Old and Middle Kingdoms of Egypt. The weaving of textile fabrics, both plain and coloured, was well understood ; and the making of the finest white linen was carried to great perfection. The tanning of skins produced leathers of every kind, which were used for shields, quivers, the covering of seats, aprons, straps, and sandals. Carpenters and cabinet-makers did excellent work in the designing and construction of furniture, boats, weapons, and coffins, and they were familiar with the arts of veneering and inlaying. The potter's wheel was used ; and in faience work and glazing even modern craftsmen cannot beat the best Egyptian work. The smelting and forging of metals was carried on ; and the arts of the goldsmith and lapidary reached the acme of perfection, as is seen in the *objets d'art* found, not only in the tomb of Tutankhamen recently, but in the graves of the Twelfth Dynasty. It can hardly be doubted that some at least of the Hebrews learnt the practice of these crafts during their residence in Goshen ; and there is no improbability in the tradition that Bezalel and Oholiab could 'devise skilful works, to work in gold and in silver and in brass, and in cutting of stones for setting, and in carving of wood,' as well as in the craft of 'the embroiderer in blue and in purple, in scarlet, and in fine linen, and of the weaver' (Exod. xxxv. 32, 35). Whether the Tabernacle, with all its

furnishings, as described in Exod. xxxv. ff., was actually erected and equipped in the wilderness may be questioned on other grounds; but there need be no doubt as to the possession by the Hebrews of the technical skill necessary for its construction.

Turning now to the fine arts, almost the only considerable public buildings of the Hebrews of which we have any detailed knowledge are the Temple and Palace of Solomon; and it has been already shown how deeply indebted that monarch was to Egypt for the architecture of those magnificent monuments.

The prohibition of the Second Commandment effectually prevented the practice and development of the arts of painting and sculpture. But music was extensively cultivated, both in connexion with religious services and for secular uses. Vocal music naturally came first in the order of development; such ancient lyrics as the Song of Lamech and the songs quoted in Num. xxi. were intended to be chanted without accompaniment, the rhythm being indicated by clapping of the hands, or stamping with the feet (Ezek. vi. 11), or the beating of some kind of drum or tambourine. Songs were sung at banquets (Amos vi. 5); at weddings (Jer. xxxiii. 11); at the departure of guests (Gen. xxxi. 27); at funerals (Jer. xxii. 18; 2 Sam. iii. 33); and in celebration of victories (Exod. xv. 1; Judges v. and xi. 34; 1 Sam. xviii. 6). Music was also believed to be efficacious in the expulsion of evil spirits (1 Sam. xvi. 14 ff.). Songs were, from the beginning, associated with holy feasts (Isa. xxx. 29); and a choir was formed for service in the Temple, under the charge of Heman,



MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

1. Lyre from tomb at Beni-Hassan (Twelfth Dynasty). 2. Small Harp from Tel-el-Amarna. 3. Large Harp. 4. Sistrum. 5. *Flute à Bec.* 6. *Flauto Traverso.* 7. Trumpet. 8. Double Flute. 9. Drum. 10. Cymbals. 11. Cymbals.

Drawn from Egyptian pictures by Mr. A. J. Ralton, Dip. Arch. of Queen's College, Melbourne.

Asaph, and Etan (2 Chron. v. 11 ff.). There was a 'Chief Musician,' or Precentor, who was responsible for the musical service, and to whom many of the Psalms are inscribed.

Now Egypt was a land of music and song. No festival of any kind, sacred or domestic, was complete without instrumental music and singing, both choral and individual. The words of many such songs have been preserved, and may be read in Erman's invaluable Collection. Even under the Old Empire mention is made of one Rachenem, 'the Superintendent of the Singing,' as well as of three other officials who are styled 'Superintendents of the Royal Singing' and 'Superintendents of all the Beautiful Pleasures of the King.' Under the New Empire similar officials are named, and their chief is called 'Superintendent of the Singers to Pharaoh,' and also 'Superintendent of the Singers of all the Gods'; he evidently corresponds to the Chief Musician of the Hebrew Psalter. The tomb-pictures give many representations of players and singers; of special interest is one at Tel-el-Amarna, where a chorus of seven blind men is seen singing to the accompaniment of a harp and the clapping of hands. It is not suggested that the Hebrews knew nothing of singing and playing before their residence in Egypt; indeed, one of their ancient traditions recorded the name of Jubal as 'the father of all such as handle the harp and pipe' (Gen. iv. 21); but it was probably in Egypt that they perfected the art of music to such a pitch as made possible the chanting of poems like Miriam's Song and the Song of Deborah, and the

organization of such a Temple choir as rendered the Psalms of David and his successors.

It is from the Egyptian monuments that it is possible to learn the form of the various musical instruments used by the Hebrews in pre-exilic times. Of the stringed instruments, the one most often mentioned is the *kinnor*, which Bondi connects with the Egyptian *kn-an-aul*. It is the only stringed instrument mentioned in the Pentateuch, and its invention is ascribed to Jubal. It was probably known to the Hebrews from the earliest times. In the well-known picture of the visit of Absha and his Syrian attendants to the Court of Usertesen II of the Twelfth Dynasty, one member of his suite is playing upon an instrument which may with great likelihood be an early form of the *kinnor*. It is a rectangular wooden frame, about two feet long; the front part is a mere rim across which the six strings are stretched, and the player's hand can be seen through it; the back part is a kind of sound-board, to the farthest edge of which the strings are attached. The player is using a plectrum, and the instrument is carried with the strings in a horizontal position. Similar instruments are depicted in many of the monuments, mostly carried horizontally, but sometimes vertically; and the number of the strings varies from six to ten. The *kinnor* is thus technically a lyre; it is unfortunate that the R.V. renders it by 'harp,' which conveys quite a wrong idea to the English reader.

The *nebel* is first mentioned in 1 Sam. x. 5, and is amongst the instruments used at banquets in Isa. v. 12, Amos. vi. 5. It is usually associated with the *kinnor*.

The R.V. translates generally by 'psaltery,' but once by 'lute' and twice by 'viol.' These translations are all misleading. The psaltery was a kind of dulcimer; the lute and viol are instruments of the guitar class, in which the strings are backed by a neck or sound-board, so that they can be stopped by the fingers of the performer, as in the modern violin. The *nebel* was a harp; the primitive form of it was very simple, consisting of two sticks set at about a right angle, with the strings stretched across from the one to the other. Each string, of course, could only produce one note. But the framework was early modified so that the two sides formed a sweeping curve, which was hollowed out so as to act as a sounding-board. The number of strings varies from seven to twenty or more; and, whilst the smaller specimens could be carried in the hand (1 Sam. x. 5), the larger ones stand about six feet high, and have to be rested on the ground, whilst the performer stands to play them. The *nebel ghassor* in Ps. xxxiii. 2, xcii. 3, cxliv. 9 probably means a harp with ten strings. The derivation of the word *nebel* is uncertain; Driver (*Heb. Dict.*, s.v.) suggests that it may be an Egyptian loan-word from *nefer*, a lute. *Minnim* (Ps. lvii. 8, cl. 4), from an Aramaic word meaning hair or string, seems to be a generic name for all stringed instruments.

The *khalil* is mentioned first in 1 Sam. x. 5, and is from *chalal*, to pierce or hollow out; it is translated by the R.V. 'pipe,' and was some sort of flute or oboe. The flute appears in the Egyptian monuments, sometimes in the form of the *flauto traverso*, which is held obliquely and played through a hole in the side;

sometimes as the *flute à bec*, held in front of the performer and played from the end, like the modern tin whistle. The double flute, with the ends of the two instruments bound together at the mouthpiece, is often figured; and this may be the meaning of the plural form, *khalilim* used in 1 Kings i. 40 and Jer. xlviii. 36. *Machol*, which is translated by the R.V. 'dance' or 'dancing' (Ps. xxx. 11, cl. 4; Lam. v. 15), may mean a small flute or fife, and is from the same root as *khalil*. It is suggested by Stainer that *Machilath*, in the titles of Ps. liii. and lxxxviii., may mean 'flutes,' and be derived from the same root.

The *ghugav*, the invention of which is ascribed to Jubal (Gen. iv. 21) and which is mentioned in Job. xxx. 31, was certainly a wind instrument, though it is impossible to determine whether it was an ordinary reed-pipe, or, as many think, a syrinx or Pan's pipe. This is a universally disseminated instrument, and embodies the idea of the later organ, though the translation 'organ' in the A.V. is very misleading to the modern reader.

Three names for trumpet were used by the Hebrews. The *shophar* was the curved horn of a cow or ram, used in war and, later, in the service of the Temple. *Keren* means a horn, and is often used as a symbol of strength; from Joshua vi. 5 it would seem to be synonymous with *shophar*. The actual horns of the ram or cow were used, but, later, imitations of them in metal were made. The *khatsotsrah* was a straight metal trumpet with a bell-shaped mouth; Moses was commanded to make two of these trumpets of silver (Num. x. 2), and they

were doubtless shaped like the one represented on the Arch of Titus amongst the spoils of the Temple. The Egyptian monuments depict examples of trumpets of this shape.

Of instruments of percussion, the *toph* is the earliest to be mentioned; the R.V. translates it generally by 'timbrel,' and it is associated with the *machol*, or fife, in Exod. xv. 20 and Judges xi. 34. It is doubtless the small hand-drum often seen in the Egyptian monuments; it is sometimes cylindrical, with skin at both ends; sometimes basin-shaped, with the skin over the top.

The *manghanghim* are only mentioned in 2 Sam. vi. 5, where the R.V. renders 'castanets,' or, in margin, 'sistra.' The root is *nooagh*, to shake, and it consisted of a metal frame with a handle, through which metal rods were passed from side to side supporting loose metal rings. It was commonly used in Egypt in religious ceremonies and processions. It was not unlike the so-called Turkish music, still found occasionally in our military bands. The *shalish* only occurs in 1 Sam. xviii. 6, in the plural. It is derived from *shalosh*, three; and may be, as the margin of the R.V. translates it, 'triangles.'

The *tseltsim*, first mentioned in 2 Sam. vi. 5 and frequently in Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah, are cymbals, which are found in Egypt in two forms—the one a small metallic pair of conical clappers with handles; the other about the size and shape of a soup-plate. Two varieties are distinguished in Ps. cl. 5, where probably the 'loud cymbals' are the larger, and the 'high-sounding cymbals' the smaller kind.

Whilst the primitive Hebrews probably were acquainted with the *kinnor*, the *ghugav*, the *khalil*, and the *toph*, it is more than likely that they borrowed from the Egyptians the *nebel*, the various forms of trumpet or horn, the cymbals, and the sistrum. In any case, it would seem certain that it was in Egypt that they learned how to organize their vocal and instrumental music, and to use it for festivals, both secular and sacred.

Unfortunately, we have no record of the musical scale used by the Egyptians and Hebrews. In all probability it was, as in most primitive peoples, the pentatonic scale, consisting of the first, second, fourth, fifth, and sixth notes of our modern diatonic scale; it is the scale which includes the black notes of the pianoforte. On it the Hebrew music seems to have been based, and it survives in the Gregorian tones, so that not only the Hebrews, but all our later ecclesiastical music, is under obligations to Egypt in this respect.

CONCLUSION

In his Fernley Lecture forty-one years ago, my distinguished predecessor, the Rev. Dr. Dallinger, after setting forth the Darwinian theory of evolution by variation and natural selection, said, 'It is impossible for a biologist to withhold consent to the fact that a "law," a method, has been demonstrated, which has been a certain and powerful factor in producing the variety of the flora and fauna that have filled the earth, from the dawn of life upon the globe, up to the extant animals and vegetables which are the latest outcome of this great law. This is the conviction of all the experts of the world.' The lapse of time has not only confirmed this view, but has inevitably led to the extension of the idea of evolution to all the political, social, and religious developments of mankind. The fundamental principle of recent biblical scholarship is the realization that Judaism is not exempt from this law, and that the Old Testament is the record of its gradual evolution from stage to stage until it reached the sublime level of the later Prophets and Psalmists, and culminated in the topmost peak of Christianity. To understand this evolution it is necessary to examine the influence which operated upon it throughout its history; and it has been my aim to show that one of the most important of these was that of Egypt. Not that it was the only one; antecedent to it was the literature and religion of ancient Babylon; and after the return from the Exile the Persians and the Greeks added their contributions

to the thought of Judaism. But the Egyptian influence, continued through so many centuries of close contact and in large part during the initial stages of Israel's history, was the most formative of them all.

Dr. Dallinger, however, expresses his belief that 'there are other features of evolution not yet discovered'; and in this belief he was a true prophet. First, it has become increasingly clear that no accumulation of haphazard variations could have issued in the steady progress which is discernible in the world of living things. There must have been a directive mind at work, with definite purpose in view. The Spirit of God did not withdraw from His activities when the world was won from the primaeval chaos; He still continued, and continues, His direction of His work; and thus even biological evolution is an inspired process. And, further, Lloyd Morgan has shown that evolution has not gone on in a steady, uninterrupted course of almost imperceptible variations. On the contrary, there have occurred, from time to time, emergent variations, often of a startling and unpredictable character. To quote Professor J. Arthur Thomson (*Concerning Evolution*, p. 207), 'Something startlingly new emerges out of the new concatenation. So the new emergent animal type—whether it be fish or frog, bird or mammal—is more than an additive summation. Every one of them meant a Columbus voyage—the discovery of a new world.' And again, 'Man was a new synthesis, if ever there was one; no mechanical resultant, but a vital new creation.' Hugo de Vries says, 'The theory of mutation assumes that new species and varieties are

produced from existing forms by sudden leaps.' This is emphatically true in the development of human personality and of human institutions. The importance of conversion is now recognized by all psychologists ; and it often occurs with remarkable suddenness. And in history such emergences took place, e.g. in the dramatic fall, first of Nineveh, and then of Babylon ; in the French Revolution, and in the late Great War.

These two elements must be taken into account in the evolution of Judaism. It was, from the outset, inspired and directed by the Holy Spirit of God as it progressed from Mosaism to Prophetism, and from Prophetism to Christianity. And there were great 'emergent' moments, with new and unforeseeable results—such were the revelations through Moses at the time of the Exodus ; the seventy years' captivity in Babylon ; the patriotic wars of the Maccabees ; and, above all, the coming of Christ. Thus the modern method of biblical study does not shut out God from the processes of religious development ; rather it emphasizes His continuous presence and His decisive action at critical moments.

The materials out of which Judaism was built up were dug from the quarries of Babylon and Egypt ; and further stones were added later from Persia and Greece ; but the design of the building was God's, and His Spirit guided the builders at every stage. Hence there is no derogation to Jehovah in assigning its proper importance to the influence of Egypt on the life and religion of Israel. As that wonderful prophecy of Isaiah's says (xix. 24), ' In that day shall Israel be the third with

Egypt and with Assyria, a blessing in the midst of the earth ; for that Jehovah Sabaoth hath blessed them, saying, Blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria the work of my hands, and Israel mine inheritance.' And in that ' great multitude, which no man could number, out of *every* nation and of *all* tribes and peoples and tongues,' doubtless Egyptians, as well as Jews, will be found to sing, ' Salvation unto our God that sitteth on the throne, and unto the Lamb. Amen : Blessing and glory and wisdom and thanksgiving and honour and power and might be unto our God for ever and ever. Amen.'

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